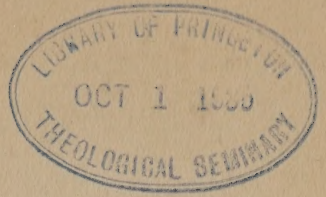


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THE ATTITUDE
OF WOLFGANG MUSCULUS
TOWARD RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

by

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INTRODUCTION

The attitude of Wolfgang Musculus to religious liberty is of interest not merely because he played an important part in the Reformation in German speaking Switzerland, but also because his practice was milder than that of Luther, Zwingli, and Bucer, whose theory he shared. When Musculus left Strasbourg in 1531 to commence an influential ministry in Augsburg, magisterial control of religion and consequent intolerance in theory and practice were already current in the three leading Protestant centers.¹ In Wittenberg, Luther at the opening of his career as a reformer trusted in the power of the "Word" to convince heretics of their errors and bring them back to the true faith. By 1530, however, he understood blasphemy to be the rejection of an article of faith which was clearly grounded in Scripture and universally accepted; he virtually identified blasphemy and sedition, and thereby arrived at the point where he could approve of the death penalty for certain Anabaptists. He consented to banishment for Catholics, but objected to their execution. In Zürich, Zwingli was early intolerant of the Anabaptists and by 1526 approved of death for obstinate cases where political unrest was also charged. Many less severe repressive measures were taken, and to these the Catholics were subjected as well. In Strasbourg, Bucer's stronghold, the Anabaptists were liable to imprisonment and exile. In practice, however, the city pursued a comparatively mild course until 1538 and did not seek them out so long as they lived peaceably. As a result Anabaptists flocked there from sterner persecutions elsewhere. Roman Catholic ceremonies were forbidden within the city in 1529.

¹ Literature consulted (See Biblio. III for complete references): Bainton, "The Development and Consistency of Luther's Attitude to Religious Liberty"; Bainton, "The Parable of the Tares"; Bainton, "Sebastian Castellio"; Burr, "Anent the Middle Ages"; Eells, *Martin Bucer*; Farner, *Die Lehre von Kirche und Staat bei Zwingli*; Faulkner, "Luther and Toleration"; Faulkner, "The Reformers and Toleration"; Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli*; Köhler, *Reformation und Ketzerprozess*; Paulus, *Protestantismus und Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert*; Roth, *Augsburgs Reformationsgeschichte*; Ruffini, *Religious Liberty*; Völker, *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation*.



Wolfgang Musculus

1497 - 1563

SKETCH OF LIFE AND THEOLOGICAL POSITION

Wolfgang Musculus¹ was born of humble parentage on September 8, 1497, in Dieuze, Department of Meurthe, Lorraine.² He supplemented his elementary education by going as a wandering scholar to other cities. In his sixteenth year he entered a Benedictine monastery in Lixheim and lived a quiet, studious, exemplary life. He was particularly interested in the classics and music. A few years later he began the study of theology, was ordained, and preached in his monastery and neighboring churches. Luther's early writings so influenced him that the people called him "the Lutheran monk". This ministry continued under the protection of the governor of Lützelstein until 1527 when Musculus broke his monastic connections, espoused Margaretha Barth, who was a kinswoman of his prior, and fled with her to Strasbourg where they were married by Theobald Niger on December 26. For a short time Musculus experienced difficulty in earning a livelihood, but he soon became Martin Bucer's secretary and preached on Sundays in the neighboring town of Dorlisheim. After a year he became an assistant to Matthew Zell, preacher in the Strasbourg cathedral. Meanwhile he took up the study of Hebrew and attended lectures by Capito and Bucer.

In 1531 four Strasbourg preachers, of whom Musculus was one, were sent to Augsburg. Musculus preached his first sermon in that city on January 22, 1531.³ He stepped into the midst of the religious struggle there and began his rise to an influential position. By patience and persuasion he was able to convert several Anabaptists who had undergone long imprisonment.⁴ A leading part

¹ Early in life he was known as Meüszlin. Later variants of this name are Müsli, Müssli, Meuszli, and Moessel. It is not known when he latinized his name, but by 1531 he signed himself "Musculus tuus". His not invariable rule was to sign his German letters "Meuszlin", and his Latin letters "Musculus".

² A number of biographies of Musculus are available, all of them largely based on the one written by his son Abraham in 1564 and published in 1595 by Abraham's son, Wolfgang, in *SYNOPSIS Festalium Concionum*. Of these biographies, the two most significant are Grote, *Wolfgang Musculus*, Hamburg, 1855, and "Wolfgang Musculus oder Müsli, Ein Lebensbild aus der Reformationszeit," from the notes left by Dr. Wilhelm T. Streuber of Basel (d. 1857), and published in *Berner Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1860*, pp. 6-79. Where no special reference is given, the latter is the authority used for this brief biographical sketch.

³ Roth, vol. 2, p. 11.

⁴ *Synopsis*, pp. 26-28; Bähler, p. 132; Musculus' letter to A. Blaurer, Feb. 27, 1554, Schiesz, vol. 3, p. 241; *Calvini opera*, vol. 15, letter No. 1916.

was taken by him in securing the expulsion of the Roman Catholic ceremonies from the city in 1537.⁵ He represented Augsburg at the Eisenach Conference of 1536, and again at the Conferences of Worms and Regensburg in 1540 and 1541. In July 1537 he became the cathedral preacher. Like Bucer,⁶ he was a zealous reformer of public morals, and in 1542 the Rat appointed him to censor books and booksellers.⁷ In 1544 Augsburg sent him to introduce the Reform in the city of Donauwörth, a task which he completed in less than three months.⁸ By a special decree in 1546, the Rat recognized his services by voting him a yearly grant of 200 gulden for the duration of his life.⁹ In the meantime Musculus had become an earnest student of Greek and for years co-operated in translating and publishing the works of a number of the Greek church fathers.¹⁰ In 1544 the first of his biblical commentaries appeared, followed at intervals by others.

After the downfall of the Schmalkald League in 1547, Musculus became restive under the growing Catholic influence. Upon the request of the Rat he consented to remain in Augsburg despite imminent personal danger, but reserved the right to leave if the city adopted the terms of the "Interim". This it did on June 26, 1548, and on that same day Musculus fled in disguise after placing his wife and children under the Rat's care. The family was reunited in Constance on July 30, made its way to St. Gall where it found refuge for nearly two months,¹¹ then went to Zürich, remaining until the following spring when Musculus was appointed to succeed Simon Sulzer¹² in the chair of theology in the city of Bern. There the fugitive family arrived on April 9, 1549.

Musculus spent the remainder of his life in Bern teaching, advising in church affairs, and writing biblical commentaries and sundry treatises. His fame spread and a wide correspondence resulted. He was offered positions to teach and preach in London, Strasbourg, Augsburg, Heidelberg, Marburg, and other cities, but he refused them all. He died in his Bern home on August 30, 1563, a few days before his sixty-sixth birthday. Three daughters

⁵ Roth, vol. 2, pp. 288, 295-296; Hans, p. 42.

⁶ Eells, p. 420.

⁷ Roth, vol. 3, p. 180.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263. A very good account of these dealings is given by Stieve, pp. 387-461.

⁹ Roth, vol. 3, p. 126.

¹⁰ See Biblio. II. A. 1.

¹¹ Letter to Vadianus, Oct. 15, 1548; Arbenz & Wartmann, p. 759.

¹² Good, pp. 40-42.

preceded him in death, but his wife and one daughter survived him as did also six sons who all became ministers.¹³

Musculus' character was thoroughly admirable. His correspondence was filled with references to his children whose love and respect he retained to the end.¹⁴ He was generous in his charities, temperate in his habits, and peaceable with his fellow citizens. Uncompromising in matters of principle and free of subterfuge, he was at the same time gentle and humble.¹⁵ His contemporaries and later biographers unite in attesting his influence and importance.

Musculus won recognition not as an originator but as a promulgator of ideas by means of his sermons, pamphlets, letters, and biblical commentaries. A brief summary of his principal theological positions shows his close doctrinal kinship with such contemporaries as Calvin, Luther, and Bucer. Like Calvin, he was jealous of God's sovereignty. Not only is Satan himself subject to God,¹⁶ but there is no possibility of any freedom of the human will. God is the source of all blessings and punishments, and His ability and willingness to correct evildoers make it unnecessary for the Christian individual to be intolerant of them.¹⁷ On the other hand, God's goodness and love toward men are marked by kindness, openness, tractability, and liberality in order that they might be called to put their trust in Him.¹⁸ His nature is marked by goodness, quietness, mercy, pity, and slowness to anger.¹⁹ Musculus rejected a legalistic following of Christ who is the believer's exam-

¹³ From Musculus' correspondence with Blaurer and Bullinger, along with the *Synopsis* biography, it can be demonstrated that there were four daughters and six sons born into the family. P. R. Musculus, "Wolfgang Musculus en Lorraine et en Alsace," p. 497, holds there were eleven children, naming the first-born son to have been Wolfgang. Prof. Wysz of Bern named six other sons; Grote, p. 191 footnote.

¹⁴ *Synopsis*, pp. 45-46.

¹⁵ In 1560 the Landgrave of Saxony invited Musculus among others to attend a great synod to consider with the Jena theologians the question of the Supper. Regarding this recognition of his standing, Musculus wrote to Bullinger: "Quod meam autem personam attinet / non agnosco hanc nominis mei existimationem / qua me optimus princeps cum doctis Ecclesiarum nostrarum viris connumerat. Meo me pede metior, ac scio me non esse eum qui nomen inter doctos habere debeat, cum satis sit / si sim illorum discipulus. Quare non placet / quod me una vobiscum ad Synodum vocandum esse censet / cum sint alij multi multo me magis ad hanc causam idonei." Letter to Bullinger, Aug. 24, 1560; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 371 S. 808.

¹⁶ *Loci*, p. 494 A-B.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 486-497.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 459 B.

¹⁹ "Haec & alia plurima, quae Deo tribuuntur in Scripturis, qualis sit natura docent: nempe bonus, placidus, clemens, misericors, fidelis, verax, aequus, iustus, gaudens humilibus, & detestans superbos, tardus ad vindictam, sapiens ac prudens." *Ibid.*, p. 9 B.

ple, not his magistrate or lawgiver. True spiritual union between Christ and the believer brings benefits in this world and the next.²⁰ The Bible is God's divinely revealed Word and is as authoritative as if He spoke with man face to face. It is the standard for the amendment of doctrine and life.²¹ Like Luther, Musculus did not place all the canonical books upon the same plane of inspiration and authority.²² He warned of letter loyalty which robs the reader of the genuine understanding.²³ He recommended the reading of such extra-biblical literature as the church fathers,²⁴ but rejected post-biblical prophets and prophecies.²⁵ Musculus' concept of sin and salvation was Augustinian. The natural man is totally depraved and a slave of sin. Sins vary in degree, the worst of all being blasphemy. Musculus, like his contemporaries, consented to death for blasphemers, but limited this classification much more narrowly than did Luther and Calvin. Salvation is bestowed by God's foreordaining grace. Musculus was an advocate of the doctrines of election and reprobation.²⁶ Relative to the Supper, he at first accepted Bucer's mediating interpretation, but later arrived at the Reformed position.²⁷ He differentiated between the visible errant Church and the invisible inerrant one. He gave much thought to the affairs and conduct of the Church, and his opinions regarding it will be discussed in the ensuing chapters.

²⁰ *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 259 B.

²¹ *Loci*, pp. 177 A, 190 A.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 175 B.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 428 B.

²⁴ *Opera D. Ioannis Chrysostomi*, preface, pp. ii-iv; *Divi Gregorii . . . Opera*, preface, p. iii.

²⁵ *Loci*, p. 175 A.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 247 B - 255 B.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 343-385; A. Haller, p. 498; Roth, vol. 3, p. 236; Good, p. 44.

MINISTER AND MAGISTRATE

The Protestant reformers held no altogether common viewpoint relative to the problem of the minister and the magistrate. Zwingli believed in such a close union of Church and State that all distinction between them vanished and the State really composed and controlled the Church.¹ Calvin maintained a real distinction between the two, but the union was intimate and the State was thoroughly subjected to the Church as her handmaid in carrying out her behests.² Controversy on the subject of civil control of religious affairs was particularly active in Augsburg from 1534 to 1537 in the effort of the Protestants to drive the Roman ceremonies out of the city. Musculus, as already stated, played a significant role in this struggle.³ His theory of the right of the civil power in religious affairs was largely in accord with that of Bucer,⁴ probably having been learned from the Strasbourg leader during Musculus' early ministry under him. Bucer was more intolerant in one instance than was Luther who held that the Augsburg magistrates had no right to forbid Roman services in the Dom and other churches under imperial jurisdiction. Bucer favored such prohibition⁵ as did Musculus who worked for it until it was achieved in 1537. Musculus held consistently to the same idea throughout the period of his ministry, for the principles advocated in 1536⁶ were upheld in 1560.⁷

Musculus set up high standards for the ministerial office and occupant. The place of the minister is one of dignity and service,

¹ Allen, p. 64; Farner, p. 132; Dollfus-Zodel, p. 32.

² Allen, p. 64; Choisy, pp. 251-252; Geffcken, pp. 237-238; McGiffert, *Prot. Thought*, pp. 96-97; Burr, p. 724.

³ "Er war der Führer in der auf völlige Beseitigung des katholischen Gottesdienstes gerichteten Bewegung." Hans, p. 42. Hans gives much valuable data on this type of controversy in this locality. See Biblio. I. B. 3, 4 for the two MSS. with which Musculus was intimately associated and which dealt wholly with this problem. The treatise of 1538, *Bonifacius Wolfarts u. Wolfg. Musculi bedenckhen der kirchenguetter halb*, dealt with a phase of it.

⁴ "In seinen [Musculus'] religiösen und politischen Anschauungen war er stark von Butzer beeinflusst, scheint jedoch mehr wie dieser auf die Seite der Schweizer geneigt zu haben." Hans, p. 42. This would bring Musculus into close thought relationship with Calvin's doctrine of the Church and State, for "the Strassburg Reformation . . . in its features of discipline as well as in its theological emphasis, anticipated much that is usually associated with Calvin's Geneva." McNeill, p. 145.

⁵ Hans, pp. 57-59; Eells, pp. 184-185.

⁶ As set forth in *Vom Gwalt* of that year.

⁷ *Loci*, pp. 619-647.

and the higher the dignity the greater the obligation to serve.⁸ This function may seem of small worth in the eyes of the world and of some men entering upon the office, yet before God and in the sight of the faithful it is very exalted and calls for conscientious workers⁹ who are able to prescribe for those who wish to be saved. The minister as a dispenser of the mysteries of God must be marked by genuineness, piety, and an exceptional endowment of that spirit which should be found in the people of God.¹⁰ Other marks of a true minister of Christ are that he is duly called to teach, he preaches nothing but the word of Christ, he so teaches that he makes clear to the people not only the sound but also the spirit of that word,¹¹ and he performs a mission of gentle, healing care as contrasted with the false shepherd who oppresses the faithful by force and harshness.¹²

The pastor has certain specific duties and rights. When there is a Christian magistrate he must exercise the ministries of preaching, reading in the church, psalming, and catechising. In conjunction with his congregation the pastor may arrange for regular services of singing, preaching, prayer, and the like; he may appoint for his church special observances, such as days of prayer and periods of fasting in times of calamity; and choose men to gather goods for the poor. He is entitled to liberty in things indifferent, to a certain degree of honor, and to sustenance by the Gospel with sufficient provision for himself and family.¹³ When there is no Christian magistrate, or if the ruler does not take control of the affairs of religion as he should, then it is necessary for the local churches to control their own affairs as best they can with the assistance of their pastors. The churches are organized on the congregational basis and have rights and responsibilities which are not impaired because of size or poverty.¹⁴ The local congregation with the guidance of the Bible has the right to judge as to what things may be heard in it.¹⁵ Each congregation with its minister may excommunicate reprobate members,¹⁶ and with or without the

⁸ *Vom Gwalt*, p. 27 B.

⁹ *Ad. Gal.*, pt. 2, p. 107 A.

¹⁰ *In Psalterium*, pp. 1015 B - 1016 C.

¹¹ *Loci*, p. 429 A.

¹² *Ad Philipp.*, p. 219 B.

¹³ *Loci*, pp. 204 A - 205 B. Elsewhere, *Ibid.*, p. 200, Musculus described with approval the part the clergy in Bern had in the examination of ministers and their nomination for churches.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 310 B.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 310 B - 311 A.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 311 A.

consent of its minister can depose unworthy pastors and elect better ones.¹⁷ Not only grossly immoral clergymen but "fruitless trees" as well are subject to expulsion and punishment.¹⁸ Such ministerial discipline may take the form of public reproof, in severer cases suspension or complete removal from office, and in extreme instances excommunication and banishment from the fellowship of the faithful.¹⁹

Musculus held to the rather common Protestant view that the magistrate rules by divine right.²⁰ This is true whether the office is well administered or is discharged in a tyrannical manner.²¹ There are three ways by which rulership is divinely instituted: By natural constitution, as in the wise and strong; by the Word of God whereby the divine will is made known; and by a special visitation of God's Spirit upon some man whereby a leader or savior unexpectedly appears, as in the case of Gideon.²² The ruler produced by God in any of these ways is supreme in his realm, for he is the minister of God by the sword and all mortals are subject to him.²³ Therefore, the pope is wicked since he claims to be under no magistrate;²⁴ and the monks, bishops, and other ecclesiastics are also detestable because they not only deny themselves to be amenable to the divinely instituted magistracy, but subject both themselves and the civil power to the authority of the Roman See.²⁵ Musculus was one with Bucer and Calvin in refusing any immunities to clergymen who violate civil laws.²⁶

The character of the magisterial office largely outlines the qualities that are to be sought in its occupant. The Christian ruler should surpass his subjects in dignity, virtue, piety, and zeal.²⁷ If the form of government permits the people to select their ruler, they should choose not only an excellent man, but an excellent Christian who is superior to others in faith in Christ, love toward

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 311 B.

¹⁸ *In Matthaeum*, pp. 203-204.

¹⁹ *Loci*, pp. 231 A - 232 A.

²⁰ "Ad imaginem autem Dei creatum esse, est instar Dei cuiusdam esse constitutum. Vnde magistratus ac principes . . . dii ac potentes in Scripturis vocantur." *Ibid.*, p. 15.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 621 A.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 622 A.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 642 B.

²⁴ *In Genesim*, p. 138 A.

²⁵ *In Psalterium*, p. 629 A.

²⁶ Eells, p. 184; Choisy, pp. 167, 226-227.

²⁷ *Loci*, p. 623 A.

the brethren, zeal for God, desire for justice, and holiness of life.²⁸ If the office is hereditary it should be a primary care that its future occupant receive his training from men who are outstanding in faith, religion, wisdom, justice, and the other heroic virtues.²⁹ High ideals and noble examples should be held before him as patterns.³⁰

The duties of the ruler fall into two large classifications. In the first lies the repression of evil within the realm. The magistrate has been divinely commissioned "with the sword of vengeance for compelling reprobates",³¹ and "to remove sinful and flagitious men from the midst of the people of God on earth."³² The divine commandment not to kill does not apply to the ruler's office, for in the proper exercise of the sword he serves as the divine instrument,³³ comparable to the angels of God who will cast the wicked into eternal fire.³⁴ The repression of evil men is partly for their own sakes, since this magisterial correction may be a partner to divine grace in restraining them from the wrong to which they are predisposed though not absolutely predestined.³⁵ The fasces of the lictor, like the rod of the parent, may bring the erring to repentance and thus save their souls.³⁶ Such punishment also deters others from doing wrong.³⁷ However, the coercive power of the Christian State is ordained more particularly on behalf of good men in order that they may be able "to live comfortably and well".³⁸ The ruler should keep the moral tone of his realm on a high level.³⁹ The rights of the innocent are to be guarded by means of judges, and for the purposes of peace and administration the ruler has his "ministers, prisons, sword, lictors, assistants, generals, and soldiers".⁴⁰ The wicked are not to be restrained arbi-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 623 B. Zwingli held that "nur ein wahrer Christ könne überhaupt eine gerechte Obrigkeit sein." Farner, p. 46.

²⁹ *Loci*, p. 623 B.

³⁰ In the preface to his *Ecclesiasticae Historiae Autores*, 1549, Musculus recommended to Edward VI the zeal, gentleness, and moderation of Constantine.

³¹ *Loci*, p. 624 B.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 89 B.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 93 A.

³⁴ *In Matthaeum*, p. 407 B.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106 B. See *Loci*, p. 109 A.

³⁶ *Ad. Cor.*, p. 58 A.

³⁷ *Loci*, p. 121 A.

³⁸ *Ad. Rom.*, p. 231 B; *Vom Gwalt*, p. 25 A-B.

³⁹ Musculus emphasized the importance of public morals. Roth, vol. 2, p. 56, tells that the people of Augsburg complained that Musculus was trying to do away with all the pleasures of life. He was instrumental in having the Rat abolish the city brothels in 1532.

⁴⁰ *Loci*, p. 625 B.

trarily or haphazardly, but by means of laws. Severe laws may be very effective,⁴¹ but are to be applied only by the magistrate through legal punishments. Because Christ was not a ruler of this world he did not condemn the adulteress, but if she had been sentenced through due process of law and not by a mob, Jesus would not have interfered in her behalf.⁴²

The other great province of magisterial activity is public religion. In this realm Musculus followed Bucer closely, if not in all particulars. In fact, this doctrine of magisterial oversight of religion was commonly accepted by all the Protestant leaders of Musculus' time.⁴³ Musculus wrote,

Indeed, we agree with those who teach that the care of public religion belongs to the magistrate not only naturally and as a matter of course, but primarily.⁴⁴

His reasons for yielding this domination to the ruler were numerous. As already outlined, he held a high concept of the office itself. He believed, furthermore, that among Christians there is no distinction between ecclesiastical and secular laws because among a people holy to God there can be nothing profane.⁴⁵ Numerous Old Testament precedents bolster this position.⁴⁶ Christ's cleansing of the temple is an object lesson showing that those who have power are to purge both doctrine and the churches.⁴⁷ Again, Musculus used the domestic illustration that just as the father governs the religious affairs of the home, even more so should the magistrate control the religious situation in his territory.⁴⁸ Another very practical consideration is that the magistrate has the power to enforce his decrees. As between lower and higher civil powers, that ruler is entitled to control religious affairs who has the power of life and death over man, and he is duty-bound to withstand ungodly decrees of the emperor.⁴⁹ This duty to disobey unjust commands rests also upon the Christian citizen and will be discussed shortly. It is wrong to give the making of ecclesiastical laws to representatives of the Church and leave to the magistrate only the enforcement of

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102 B.

⁴² *In Matthaeum*, p. 106 B.

⁴³ Eells, pp. 184-185; Völker, pp. 31, 58, 60-61; Allen, p. 52; Köhler, *Ref. u. Ketz.*, pp. 39-40; Choisy, p. 253; Beyerhaus, p. 92; Murray, pp. 97-98; Paulus, pp. 1, 62.

⁴⁴ *Loci*, p. 627 A.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 632 A.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 628 A-B.

⁴⁷ *In Matthaeum*, p. 532 A; *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 51 B.

⁴⁸ *Loci*, p. 628 A.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 634 B, 644 B-645 A.

them, for thereby lawgivers are made subjects and subjects become lawgivers.⁵⁰ A further reason for civil control is the necessity of the Church whose need for purity of doctrine is very pressing and often can be obtained only through the magistrate.⁵¹ In apostolic days, Satan was a necessary minister of the Church since it lacked a Christian ruler to chastise the guilty, but now that function is, or should be, discharged by the magistrate,⁵² for if the civil power were to remove its strong arm from religious affairs and confine itself merely to maintaining public peace,

I beg of you, what of the whole Christian religion could remain sure and firm?⁵³

They who oppose this function of the ruler are working for Satan who wishes thus to hinder the repair of fallen religion and to destroy the reform already achieved.⁵⁴

Musculus outlined the ecclesiastical duties of the ruler quite in detail.⁵⁵ He should appoint or confirm ministers in churches where there are none. In this he must make sure that the men chosen are godly and fitted to teach. He may use advisers to aid in these choices, but should also know the appointees himself. He must avoid simony, see that the offices and men are suited to each other, keep unprofitable men out of office, depose those who offend the Church by impure life or doctrine,⁵⁶ reconcile the dissenting, restrain the contentious, and use all zeal to preserve peace and concord within the Church. He must secure the preaching of correct doctrine, an end best attained through earnest study of the New Testament.⁵⁷ A companion task is to preserve for the people ready access to the Scriptures, a thing denied them by the Romanists who

are so evil that they would ten times rather have Aristotle read and quoted in the Church of Christ than Paul.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 630 B - 631 B, 634 B.

⁵¹ Allen, p. 9. "Da nichts schädlicheres als falsche Lehre mag erfunden werden, warum sollte dann eine christliche Oberkeit der falschen Lehre nicht wehren?" *Confutation und Ablainung*.

⁵² *Ad Cor.*, p. 57 B. Musculus admitted that such magisterial control was contrary to the apostolic method, but this system was justified by the changed status of the Church from apostolic times when there was no Christian magistrate and the Christian groups were smaller. *Loci*, pp. 632 B-633A.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 627 A.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ The following summary is taken from the compact treatment in *Loci*, pp. 632 B - 633 B, but material is added as indicated.

⁵⁶ *Ad Philipp.*, p. 68 B.

⁵⁷ "Ita Christiano Magistratui versandus est codex noui Testamenti, ac legendus assiduo, quo certius sanae doctrinae Ecclesijs proponendae curam gerere possit." *Loci*, p. 633 A.

The ruler can discharge this last duty by promoting the printing and sale of Bibles and gospels.⁵⁸ Another specific charge is to have the sacraments properly and religiously administered. He must supervise the ceremonies of the Church, remove all useless, superfluous, and obnoxious practices, and amend those that are corrupt.⁵⁹ The magistrate will make sure that the ministers sincerely discharge their office,⁶⁰ and that the people perform their religious duties. He will even compel the unwilling to attend services.⁶¹ He will not permit anyone to do anything disgraceful in religion. The observance of piety should be not only possible but required.⁶² All of this is possible because of the magistrate's power to issue ecclesiastical laws.⁶³ In addition, the ruler must establish proper schools for children, thereby rendering a great service to the Church. He also has an important duty to bestow and preserve the Church's goods.⁶⁴ Musculus did not surrender ecclesiastical property to the civil power but zealously guarded the Church's rights to it.⁶⁵ Such goods as are in the hands of bishops, abbots, prelates, cathedral chapters, cloisters, and pastors, belong to the Church and dare not become personal property. Where such alienation of property has

⁵⁸ *Ad Rom.*, Praefatio, p. ii. B.

⁵⁹ *Loci*, pp. 626 B - 627 A. Musculus did not stickle for identity of rites and ceremonies. Such freedom was quite common to the reformers. Luther "was quite willing the widest variety should reign even in a single community." McGiffert, *Martin Luther*, p. 314.

⁶⁰ *Loci*, pp. 610 B, 625 B - 626 A.

⁶¹ "Docentis quidem non est cogere imperio et violentia invitos; interea tamen magistratui incumbit, ut nemini liberum faciat in ecclesia quidvis faciendi ac tentandi, sed ad ecclesiasticam congregationem etiam invitos cogat." *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 284 B. Although compulsory righteousness is less desirable than is voluntary, it is better than unrestrained wickedness, so Musculus was content to have men forced to a good life against their wills. *Loci*, pp. 610 A, 632 A. Compulsory attendance upon church services was advocated by Melancthon and Zwingli, Paulus, pp. 62, 188-189, as well as by Bucer. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

⁶² *Loci*, p. 627 A.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 632 B.

⁶⁴ "Aus disem allen ist unsers erachtens klar genueg, dasz die verwaltung der kirchenguetter nit den bischofen, sonder der ordenlichen oberkait zustande, fornemlich dwiel sich die gaistlichen in diser schaffnerei so unbillich und unzimlich gehalten und die armen christen so schwerlich verfortailt haben." *Bonifacius Wolfarts u. Wolfg. Musculi bedenckhen der kirchenguetter halb*, pub. by Roth, pp. 316-336, in "Zur Kirchengüterfrage in der Zeit von 1538 bis 1540," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 1 Jahrgang, 1903-1904, Berlin, 1904; p. 334.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* "Von jeder Verwendung des Kirchengutes zu anderen Zwecken als denen der Kirchen- und Armenpflege—letztere im weiteren Sinne des Wortes verstanden—vollständig schweigt. Daraus ist wohl zu ersehen, dasz Musculus und Wolfart von einem Anteil des Landesherrn an dem Kirchengut nichts wissen wollten." *Ibid.*, p. 315.

occurred it must be regained if possible, but without bloodshed.⁶⁶ Ecclesiastical goods are to be administered for the benefit of the servants of the Church, such as deacons, dispensers of the sacraments, and ecclesiastical officers who have no independent means of livelihood; for the poor, widows, orphans, the aged and decrepit, girls to be rescued from lives of shame; for strangers, pilgrims, and especially those driven from their homes for the sake of the truth.⁶⁷ It is the right and duty of the ruler to enter the monasteries and make the monks of the mendicant orders cease their begging and earn their living.⁶⁸ Finally, the magistrate will punish not only moral crimes, as do the rulers of non-Christian nations,

but also impiety, blasphemy, heresies, sacrilege, disdain for and desertion of the Church.⁶⁹

The right of the magistrate to compulsion in such cases was unquestioned in Musculus' thought. The Scriptures show that Jonah and Paul were forced to the divine will.⁷⁰ The divine source of the office, the holy purposes for which it was ordained,⁷¹ and the needs of the Church itself necessitate the exercise of this coercive function. If it is wrong to check the evil will of man and force it to do good, then one might as well remove the whole system of laws and magistrates and let the people do what they will. It is just as sensible to say that it is wrong for children, wives, and servants to be forced to do right as to hold that heretics should have a freedom of action not permitted to other mortals.⁷² Such compulsion is further justified because it achieves those things in human affairs which must be done regardless of the attitude of the doer, and it habituates people to the doing of right by continually forcing them to it.⁷³

⁶⁶ "Wa aber die gaistlichen, wie zu besorgen, weder mit gute noch mit recht zu solcher restitution nit möchten pracht werden, und ehe krieg und pluetsvergiessen anrichten, dann sie darein wolten bewilligen, rathen wir kaineswegs, dasz man umb des zeitlichen willen soll kriegen oder pluets vergiessen, sonder inen ehe die kirchengueter, doch nit im namen der kirchen, sonder als ain kirchenraub, lassen." *Ibid.*, p. 336.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 329; *Loci*, p. 633 B; *In Genesim*, p. 342 A-B.

⁶⁸ *Loci*, p. 626 A.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 633 B.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 610 A-B. To the objection that the magistrate did not compel Jonah or Paul, Musculus would answer that with them God used other means of compulsion just as now He uses His agent, the magistrate. In either case it is God's activity, hence the comparison holds.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 631 A-B.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 610 A.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

There are certain restrictions upon the magisterial sovereignty in religious affairs, however. The first outstanding one is the directing will of God. God is the King and Judge Whose laws and justice determine whether or not the acts of the magistrate are to be commended.⁷⁴ Kings and rulers are but instruments in the hands of God for reproving the wicked and preserving the good.⁷⁵ The safety of the realm is secondary to the performance of God's will, for the divine anger is to be feared above that of man.⁷⁶ Another limitation is the Bible to which complete obedience is due.⁷⁷ The Old Testament is a statement of the revealed will of God and as such it gives general instructions regarding the punishment of offenders, telling which are to be killed and which to be kept alive. By its standard, petty thieves would be saved and adulterers executed.⁷⁸ The book of Leviticus is to be a guide in practical affairs, and from its teachings it is plain that the magistrate is bound to punish severely those who offend against the first table of the Decalogue as well as those who break the precepts of the second.⁷⁹ Where the ruler acts in opposition to Old Testament ordinances he can not be justified.⁸⁰ The New Testament is equally binding,⁸¹ for the ruler is to punish the transgressors of those laws which are from God and the apostles. However, he is not to chastise men who refuse obedience to later ecclesiastical constitutions.⁸² The magistrate must also consider spiritual and imperial claims as well as the necessities of the local church and city.⁸³ One other

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93 B.

⁷⁵ *In Esaiam*, p. 21 A.

⁷⁶ *Vom Gwalt*, p. 19 B. "Christi supremi Imperatoris ac regis, serui sunt, & huius nomine conuenit eos [Christian Princes] perinde atque reliquos Christianos quacuis subire pericula, ac principatus suos non amare magis quam Christum Dominum." *Loci*, p. 644 B.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 644 B-646 B.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 646 B-647 A. Thos. More, Erasmus, and Castellio also questioned the source of such severity for thieves and leniency for adulterers. Buisson, vol. 1, p. 300.

⁷⁹ "Sic Exod. 22. legitur: Qui immolat dijs, occidatur. Et Leu. 20: Qui declinauerit ad magos, morte moriatur. Item: Habentes spiritum Pythonicum, morte moriantur. Item capite 24: Propheta qui prophetauit in nomine Domini mendacitur, morte alijs similibus legibus docentur magistratus, quomodo poenas de illis sumere debeant, qui impie contra primam tabulam agant." *Loci*, p. 93 B.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94 A.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 645 B-646 A.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 630 B.

⁸³ "Was gemeynne sachen seindt / die sollen allein durch die Magistrat / so die gemeyn regirent / geordnet werden. Doch geben wir den fursten nit zu / oder den oberkeyten in Stetten / das sie blosz ausz eygnen willen die bösen pfaffen absetzen und gute diener an statt setzen / sonder das sie dasselbig thüen nach auszeuysung goettlichs/geistlichs/und keyserlichs rechtens/dessen sie furnemen die-

restriction upon the ruler's power is the right of the Christian man in certain crises. If the ruler fails in his duty to provide suitable public worship and religion and if the Church has declined through such lack of oversight, the individual is free to perform the necessary functions or to have someone other than the regular officials do them. This stand is justified by the examples of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and others.⁸⁴ But the case is different if the magistrate is still worse and commands his subjects to do things which are contrary to the Word of God. In such event there is but one course for the Christian to pursue and that is disobedience, for in commanding men to do wrong the magistrate sins by exercising an illegal domination, and they who obey such commands sin in thus following the human instead of the divine will.⁸⁵ Musculus, like Luther,⁸⁶ Calvin,⁸⁷ Bucer,⁸⁸ and Zwingli,⁸⁹ never gave the *individual* any right against the evil magistrate other than that of passive resistance, but they all permitted active opposition to the superior rulers by the lower magistrates or by orderly organized action of the people, depending on the local political situation.⁹⁰ In case of commands to do evil, the conscientious Christian will refuse obedience, not in a spirit of bitterness against the ruler, but with modesty and the fear of God, at the same time being all the more acquiescent in commands he can obey.⁹¹ In upholding the rights of conscience, Musculus did not mention the case of a conscientious regicide. Sometimes it is advisable to flee in order to lessen the rigors of persecution and at the same time preserve one's conscience, a recourse in perfect accord with the examples of David, the prophets, Christ, and the apostles.⁹² But if the persecuted

ner seindt/dieweyl sie den obersten gewalt in den Stetten verrichten. Und zu letzt geben wir ynen auch nit weyter / in diser reformation des Kirchen diensts zu / unnd in denen dingen so zu solchem dienst geordnet und gegeben seindt / dann so vil die noturft der Kirchen in yren Stetten erfordert / und den anderen im Bistumb onnachteilig ist." *Vom Gwalt*, p. 30 A-B.

⁸⁴ *Loci*, p. 629 B.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 643 A.

⁸⁶ Allen, pp. 18-21.

⁸⁷ Beyerhaus, pp. 98, 145; Völker, p. 152; Allen, pp. 54-57; Murray, pp. 107-108.

⁸⁸ "He had always emphasized submission to the 'higher powers'." Eells, p. 398. But in the Schmalkald War he urged armed resistance to the emperor by the lower magistrates. *Ibid.*, pp. 384-392.

⁸⁹ Farner, pp. 63-67; Paulus, p. 190, note; Kreutzer, pp. 81-88; Völker, pp. 152-153.

⁹⁰ For Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and Zwingli, see above; for Musculus, *Loci*, pp. 644 B - 645 A.

⁹¹ *Ad Rom.*, p. 233 B.

⁹² Eells, p. 395, says of Bucer, "Flight for safety he despised." He left Strasbourg at the request of the council. Musculus, too, did not flee from Augsburg for personal safety. He did it as a strong protest against the Rat's acceptance of

Christian can not flee he must bear his peril and leave vengeance to God.⁹³ The true Christian is able to achieve this end, for by the victory of faith he overcomes not only a single civil power but the whole world.

How will we withstand the devil if we are too weak to withstand the world? How will our faith overcome the whole world if in the truth of God we are unable to oppose a single power?⁹⁴

If Christians yield to external pressure

it is a sign that we are defective in the grounds of our faith and in the true fear of God.⁹⁵

The Christian must remain so firm that he will bear to have his goods taken from him by force, to be lied about, imprisoned, tortured, and shamefully put to death.⁹⁶ Musculus summed up his ideal of enduring persecution for the sake of conscience in the following lines:

Patience is a noble type of conquest: He conquers
Who endures. If you wish to conquer, learn to endure.⁹⁷

A Christian can well endure force
And still avoid wrong.
To endure wrong is not a sin,
But no child of God will do wrong.
There is a difference between enduring and doing.
Take no oath to do wrong.
Must you suffer for it? Do not let it grieve you.⁹⁸

He knew from observation and personal experience that such abuses of magisterial power did occur, but for him they did not serve to alter the peculiar character of the institution any more than

the "Interim". After this acceptance, Musculus did not continue his fight as did Bucer in Strasbourg. As between flight and violation of conscience, Musculus advised the former. "Interea tamen non erit illicitum, si quis vim iniustam vel auertere, vel fugere, vel aliquousque mitigare poterit, modo id fiat rationibus haud illicitis." *Loci*, p. 643 B.

⁹³ *Ibid.*; *In Genesim*, p. 363 B; *Ad Philipp.*, p. 230 B; *In Esaiam*, p. 397 A.

⁹⁴ *Wie weyt ein Christ*, Bidenbach, Decas I, p. 55.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54; *Loci*, pp. 457 B - 458 A.

⁹⁷ "Nobile vincendi genus est patientia: vincit,
Qui patitur; si vis vincere, disce pati." *Synopsis*.

⁹⁸ "Gwalt kan ein Christ wol leiden /
Vnd doch das Vnrecht meiden.
Das Vnrecht leiden ist nicht Sünd /
Das Vnrecht thut kein Gottes Kind:
Leiden vnd Thun hat Vnterscheid /
Vnrecht zu thun / thu keinen Eyd:
Must leiden drumb? Sey dir nicht leyd."

Wie weyt ein Christ, Bidenbach, Decas I, p. 57.

priestly and clerical offenses changed the constitution of the office of the ministry.

Musculus was careful to distinguish sharply between the offices and functions of the minister and magistrate. They are absolutely separate, although in cases where there is no ruler to function, the minister becomes involved in duties ideally adhering to the magistrate. Summarizing and contrasting the duties of the two offices, it is noted that the minister is to preach repentance and forgiveness of sins, teach the ignorant, console the afflicted, proclaim eternal life in the name of Christ, conduct church ceremonies, and dispense the mysteries of God.⁹⁹ Whatever their rank, ministers are to keep free from all magisterial duties. The ruler is to govern the people with laws and judgments, legislate in affairs of religion, force the unwilling to observe sound doctrine and unity within the Church, and administer judgment, condemnation, and punishment of the guilty. He is not to imitate the example of Christ in refusing to condemn and punish the adulteress, for such conduct though commendable in the minister is blameworthy in the ruler. Musculus repeatedly emphasized the distinction between the two offices.¹⁰⁰

But however different they are, their occupants, if they are conscientious, will work together in a spirit of co-operation as did the brothers, Moses the magistrate and Aaron the priest.¹⁰¹ Musculus resorted to the figure of the doctor (the minister) who prescribes for the patient but does not force him to follow his orders. The task of compulsion is for the head of the home (the magistrate), and he should make the patient follow the doctor's prescriptions.¹⁰² Thus the magistrate is supreme in his realm, except for the limitations already noted. Just as in the home the final authority is with the father while the stewards and members of the family do the work, so in his domain the ruler does not preach or administer sacraments, for the minister attends to them; he does not teach in the schools, for that is the schoolmaster's task; neither

⁹⁹ *Loci*, p. 624 B.

¹⁰⁰ "Diuersi sunt in Ecclesia ordines episcoporum & magistratuum." *Ibid.*, p. 609 B. "Separata sunt Magistratum & ministrorum Ecclesiasticorum munera." *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 373 A. "Meo iudicio, persecutio qua quaeritur merita vindicta, magistratui convenit, Ecclesiae Christi non conuenit." *Loci*, p. 589 A. "Minister itaque Christi . . . neminem vero cogat . . . & coactionis interea potestatem magistratibus permittat." *Ibid.*, p. 609 B. "Nec Christianae plebis est, nec ministrorum, cogere quenquam." *Ibid.*, p. 609 A.

¹⁰¹ "Sint fratres, sint inter se concordēs, sint ita suae quisque uocationi intenti, ut tamen mutuam operam pro gloria Dei, & concrediti populi necessitate, inuicem porrigere non cessent." *In Psalterium*, p. 905 B.

¹⁰² *Loci*, p. 609 B.

does he judge in the courts, for jurists have been appointed to that duty. In all these offices the authority and power are not of the officers themselves but of God through the magistrate.¹⁰³

Certain elements of Musculus' thought regarding the relation of Church and State would tend toward a degree of tolerance. He emphasized the separateness of the minister's office with all that it required of gentle spiritual ministry. He also placed certain restrictions upon the magistrate which ideally would prevent him from inflicting cruel and unusual punishments. The individual had certain rights in cases of magisterial dereliction or tyranny, such as performance of religious rites, refusal to accede to unjust demands, and flight to avoid too great persecution. The Christian had no recourse to armed force against his magistrate, but could pray and look to the Lord for judgment.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, if the old intolerant practices were due largely to the union of Church and State,¹⁰⁵ the development of intolerance under Musculus' plan was easily possible. Even the restrictions placed upon the arbitrary use or abuse of the ruler's power might prove insufficient, for the bonds holding him to them were very weak. Given the supremacy in civil and religious affairs which Musculus approved, a gradual and almost inevitable development into selfish tyranny was possible, particularly if the ecclesiastical leaders were weak or compliant. Even if the ruler continued to do his duty faithfully as outlined by Musculus, he would for that very reason be intolerant of unrecognized religious interpretations.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 633 B - 634 A.

¹⁰⁴ "Wenn aber dieses [flight to avoid persecution] nicht seyn mag / so sol ein Christ demselben nicht mit Gegengewalt widerstehen / sondern dulden vnd leiden / Vnd wenn ers gelitten hat / mit nichten sich gedencken zu rechen / sondern das alles so jm vnbillich begegnet ist / dem Allmächtigen / als dem rechten Richter / befehlen." *Wie weyt ein Christ*, Bidenbach, Decas I, p. 52. This non-combatant attitude is the only consistent stand in the light of Musculus' thought on the supremacy of God, His willingness to punish, and the divine ordination of the magistracy.

¹⁰⁵ Völker, pp. 2, 3, 5, 25, centers the whole problem of toleration about the relation of Church and State. J. B. Bury holds the same view. Ruffini, pp. viii-ix. Völker, p. 5, points out that the inquisition was a result of the union of Church and State.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Musculus' attitude toward sinners within the Church was predominantly tolerant. He approved of their correction when all conditions were favorable, but his concept of the purposes of correction, the conditions justifying excommunication, his high estimate of the virtues of gentleness and patience in winning sinners, and his reliance upon the Lord for final judgment worked distinctly for toleration of the evil member within the Church. He reserved the right of recourse to severe measures in the flagrantly exceptional case, but in practice his policy would prove peaceful, gentle, and free from distracting examples of overrigorous discipline.¹

But however tolerant Musculus may have been of sinners within the Church, he advocated sterner treatment of such people and movements as he considered heretical. He was strongly opposed to the Roman Catholic Church because he thought it a great public heresy.² Musculus' Catholic training and experience closely paralleled Bucer's in that both men grew up in close contact with the Roman religious orders and received their training in monasteries, both were monks, and both renounced their orders under the influence of Luther's teachings. Many of Musculus' ideas continued to develop during his association with Bucer and throughout his Augsburg and Bern experiences until he virtually accepted the Reformed position. But in his attitude of ardent opposition to the Roman Church there was no pronounced alteration after his original break with it. He was an enemy of its ceremonies, organization, and claims. He condemned it as a heresy, as full of idolatry and false worship, and as the kingdom of Antichrist.³

Notwithstanding his enmity for the Church of Rome, Musculus made a few concessions. Protestants are not necessarily its enemies,⁴ but such friendship as there is lies in saving Catholic members from themselves by doing away with the Roman services

¹ See Musculus' long letter to Bullinger, "De Excommunicatione"; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 359 S. 2868-2871; apograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 437 S. 467-468.

² *Loci*, p. 603 B.

³ To Musculus' charges, Luther, Melancthon, and Capito added that of blasphemy. This latter accusation opened the way for the advocacy of cruel punishments for Catholics, and this was done by the three named, but never by Musculus. Burr, "Anent," pp. 721-722; Faulkner, p. 9; Paulus, pp. 8, 11, 132-133.

⁴ *Auff das Büchlin*, p. G. 1. a.

and organization.⁵ At times Musculus conceded the Roman Church a place of membership in the universal Body of Christ, but denied that it was that Body itself, or even its head or mother.⁶ Many in the Roman communion are lost, whereas none in the true Christian Church perish.⁷ There are elect in the Church of Rome who are saved, but it is foolish to remain within it on that account, for one might as well stay in the sea because some men have been rescued from its waters. That elect are found in the Roman Church is in spite of their membership, not because of it.⁸ Calvin's position was very similar to this. He denied the use of the word "Church" to the Catholics, but was willing to grant that there were churches among them, and conceded the presence of elect Christians in that organization.⁹ Musculus limited the Roman possession of the Gospel to form, appearance, and letter, for it is not present in reality, essence, and spirit.¹⁰ His praise, though faint, was something for his age and environment.

Musculus' denial of many of the Roman claims was outspoken and frankly denunciatory. In opposing it as a great public heresy, he, like Melancthon, compared it to Mohammedanism.¹¹ He never tired of likening it to the Babylonian Church also in which there was nothing living and genuine. Its members are not real Christians; its bishops, teachers, and doctrines are only substitutes for the true; and its spirit is not of Christ but of the world. Thus are its claims to being the true Church invalidated.¹² Since the Romanists

have one pope, one idolatry, one mass, and undergo a single servitude under the Roman chair, they think themselves to be most catholic and the only ones who abide in the unity of the Church,

and foolishly call those who have left them "schismatics" and "heretics".¹³ The Roman Church is not to be excused from the charge

⁵ "Derohalben / so yemaßts dem Bapst und seiner Clerisey schaden zuzufügen begert / der bitte Gott / dasz sy ire Messen nicht fallen lassen. Wa aber yemaßts ir hail mehr daß ir verderben sucht / wie daß ain yeder Christ thun soll / so seye er mit uns an dem / das ire Messen. auf gehalten / ja das die gantz verwüstung Christlicher Religion / ob dern alle guthertzigen klaget / von in erkañt und gebessert werde." *Ibid.*, p. N. A. b.

⁶ *Loci*, p. 300 A; *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 1, p. 156 A.

⁷ *In Genesim*, p. 220 A.

⁸ *Ad Cor.*, pp. 259 B - 260 A.

⁹ McNeill, pp. 70, 179-180, 218; Völker, p. 43.

¹⁰ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 1, p. 23 A.

¹¹ *Loci*, p. 603 B; *Ad Philipp.*, p. 298 A; Völker, p. 31.

¹² *In Genesim*, p. 266 A.

¹³ *Loci*, p. 309 A.

of heresy merely because it is united, for its unity is that of error.¹⁴ The papal claims to historicity fail if judged by the Bible, the holy fathers, or the old canons and councils.¹⁵ Mere age is no proof of the Roman claims to be the Church, for the religions of the Jews and Turks are also ancient.¹⁶

Musculus looked upon certain Roman practices as idolatry and false worship, a charge commonly made by the Protestants.¹⁷ He denounced the cult of saints and images, saying that such invocation was a survival of former heathen idolatry,¹⁸ and calling the defenders of the practice idolaters.¹⁹ The use of images in worship is objectionable because God's law forbids bowing down before an image; and although this adoration is referred to the saints, it is still the worship of creatures, which is also forbidden.²⁰ God is loving and tender, but He is also jealous and will not tolerate the worship of other gods any more than a loving husband will endure adultery in his wife.²¹ The very sight of the images allures the simple to worship them, due to an inherent weakness of the flesh for such things. Images withdraw men's minds from consideration of God's majesty as seen in His living creatures, and people bestow upon the images those things which should be given to the poor.²² Such idolatry is inexcusable in the sight of Christ.²³ Musculus' attitude toward images is shown in his statement that nowhere does the Bible condemn idol breakers, but it does denounce idol makers.²⁴ Along with idolatry, Musculus considered the Catholic

¹⁴ "Publicae [hereses] sunt, quibus omnis populus una cum ordinibus suis destinetur, ut eas recte catholicas, & Ecclesiasticas voces. Talis est iam seculi aliquot haeresis Papistarum & Maometanorum, talisque diu fuit haeresis Arianorum." *Ibid.*, p. 603 B; see also p. 616 B; *Ad Philipp.*, p. 298 A.

¹⁵ *Loci*, p. 179 A.

¹⁶ *Auff das Büchlin*, p. X. ii. b.

¹⁷ *Ad Cor.*, p. 139 A. Calvin said that the Catholic public worship services were "scholae idololatriae et impietatis". Völker, pp. 42-43. In 1525 Luther wrote a tract entitled *Vom Greuel der Stillmesse*. Melancthon said, "Prophanatio missae palam est idololatria." Paulus, p. 69, footnote. Bucer so identified it in his *Dialogi* of 1535.

¹⁸ *Loci*, p. 48 A.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 54 B.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 55 A.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58 B.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 51 A-B.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 52 A.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51 B. Paulus, p. 160, footnote, unfairly quotes Musculus, *In Decalogum praeceptorum Dei explanatio*, Basileae, 1553, p. 59, "Reiiciendas et auferendas esse imagines, non obiter et frigide, sed cum verae religionis zelo, non integras, ut aliquo loco condi possint . . . sed ruptas et fractas." (Also printed in *Loci*, p. 52 B.) This is not Musculus' exhortation but is what he deduces the teaching of Epiphanius to have been.

services to be full of false worship.²⁵ In comparison with his norm, the Bible, he could not help but note the additions which had crept into the ritual and the substitutions which had been made for the simple preaching of the Word of Christ. The resulting faulty doctrine gives birth to unsound faith,²⁶ with a consequent loss of the Gospel.²⁷ If one of the apostles were to attend a Catholic service he would not be able to recognize the officiating priest as a pastor of the Lord's flock.²⁸ The service of the mass was very objectionable to Musculus, and he could not understand God's patience in so long suffering its celebration. He was sure of its ultimate abolition.²⁹ He was repelled by its pomp and display, but the core of his objection lay in its theory of propitiation wherein the priest, mediating between God and the Church, offers Christ as an oblation sufficing for the remission of sins for both the dead and the living.³⁰ To certain elements of the service, such as the use of Scripture, prayer, the confession, and the creed, Musculus was not opposed except as they might serve to gloss over the objectionable features.³¹ The mass, both as a sin offering and as a good work, is to be condemned,³² for such interpretations of the Lord's Supper came into practice through blindness, superstition, and greed.³³

Musculus was most bitter in his attack upon the Roman Church as the kingdom of Antichrist. He referred to it repeatedly as the "meretrix Babylonica", and habitually spoke of the pope as "Antichristus".³⁴ He made an absolute identification of the man of sin (II Thess. 2:3, 4) and the pope by tracing the growth of the papal ambition to be supreme over bishops, the Church, princes, emperors, and the councils until the pope placed himself as the direct successor of Christ and finally claimed the position of God

²⁵ "Ex ijs quae de vero Dei cultu praemissa sunt, abunde patet, omnem nostri temporis Papismum falsis cultibus esse refertum." *Ibid.*, p. 413 B.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 238 A.

²⁷ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 1, p. 24 A.

²⁸ *Loci*, p. 196 B.

²⁹ Letter to G. Herrwardt, Feb. 12, 1545; autograph, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, Literaliensammlung, 12/2, 45.

³⁰ *Loci*, pp. 385 B - 386 A.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 400 A.

³² "Darumb so ist / lieber Cochlee / nit allain ewer / vō versün opfer / sonder auch deren / vom guten werck der Mesz / mainung / recht verdampt wordē." *Auff das Büchlin*, p. N. iiiii. b.

³³ *In Genesim*, p. 215 A.

³⁴ "Roman. pontifex, Antichristus ille filius perditionis." *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 141 A. Völker holds that intolerance between the Protestants and Rome sprang from each regarding the other as Antichrist or as heretics. Völker, p. 138. Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, and Calvinism alike, looked upon Romanism and the pope as Antichristianity and Antichrist. *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 32-33, 42.

Himself on earth.³⁵ The pope is to be counted among the worst enemies of Christ since he sets himself forth as Christ's vicar, but is in reality directly opposed to him.³⁶ In like manner, Musculus saw little if any good in the other officers of the Roman Church. The apostle once commended the faith of the Romans, but if he were to write now he would express himself far differently regarding their "arrogance, hypocrisy, avarice, craftiness, simony, and uncleanness".³⁷ The multiplicity of the ranks of the Catholic clergy and the number of men within them caused Musculus to wonder how they were supported by the people,³⁸ and the impurity of their lives made him think that a more immoral lot of men never existed,³⁹ for were not their gods

either the belly, or gold and silver, or Venus, or vainglory, or worldly power, or disgraceful laziness?⁴⁰

Another evidence of Antichrist was the high degree of centralization within the Roman Church. Musculus naturally opposed this type of organization in view of his own theory of the equality of rights and powers of the churches regardless of size and wealth. Since Rome has usurped this power over the other churches, it does not rightly possess what is sold in its simoniacal practices, and is full of luxury and excess.⁴¹ The claims of the pope to the headship of the Church and the place of vicegerent of Christ are like the interloping claims of a paramour to the heart of a bride in the absence of her husband.⁴² The way for corruption and Antichrist was opened wide in the Church when the ministry of the Word degenerated into the priesthood, and the Roman bishop became the chief priest.⁴³ Another evil was the cruelty of the Catholic persecution. Musculus pointed out how comparatively moderate the ancient Romans were in merely beating Paul and letting him go, whereas the Catholics do not free anyone without recantation. Even in their stonings, the Jews and heathen were comparatively considerate in that when they thought Paul dead they left him and departed, but now the cruelty among the "pseudo-christianis" is so

³⁵ *Ad Philipp.*, pp. 301-304, 313 A. "In summa, sic est comparata Romana sedes, ut nisi Antichristum habeat, uerum Papam habere non possit." *Ibid.*, p. 304 A. *Ad Cor.*, p. 267 A.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ad Rom.*, p. 15 B.

³⁸ *Loci*, p. 194 A.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 102 A.

⁴⁰ *Ad Philipp.*, p. 92 B.

⁴¹ *Loci*, p. 316 A.

⁴² *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 2, p. 33 B.

⁴³ *Loci*, p. 298 B.

great that they put men to death with excruciating tortures and thus kill them ten times over.⁴⁴

For reasons largely common to other reformers as well, Musculus opposed the ordinances of the Roman Church. Auricular confession is not divinely ordained, was not used in the times of the apostles and church fathers, and does not work for the remission of sins.⁴⁵ The prohibition of foods and drink is a doctrine of Antichrist and demons.⁴⁶ Monastic vows are no longer among the adiaphora, for they bind the consciences of those taking them in matters which really are indifferent. They are, furthermore, against Christian love since they discharge the takers of such vows from the commandments of service and obedience toward magistrates and parents.⁴⁷ Monastic poverty is a hypocritical profession, for it is not true poverty at all since the needs of the inmates are amply provided for in every respect and the monks live on wealth which should be used for the truly poor of the land.⁴⁸ Compulsory celibacy is wrong because it leads to great impurity in the Church and denies the wisdom of God Who made the sexes for each other.⁴⁹

Musculus summed up his reasons for opposing the Roman Church by saying,

In the Roman Church we condemn not certain trivial and old womanish (anilia) madneses, but the gravest abominations in worship, scandals in morals, and the most shameless domination and antichristian tyranny in the most iniquitous reign of all. If she were a mother and not the "meretrix Babylonica", if in some thing she were not so deranged, we might easily tolerate her.⁵⁰

In view of such an opinion of the old church, and Musculus' distinction between the visible and invisible churches, it was easy for him to deny the charge of schism which was hurled against the Protestants and to justify their departure from Rome. He differentiated between real and apparent unity by saying,

This [faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of the living God] is true, ecclesiastical, Christian, and catholic unity, which alone

⁴⁴ *Ad Cor.*, p. 464 A. Erasmus was fond of comparisons between the mildness of the early Church and the reign of the present, and Luther never wearied of upbraiding Catholic persecution.

⁴⁵ *Loci*, p. 257 A.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 528 B.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 573 B.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 574 B. Musculus would have the magistrate handle the situation rather summarily, making the monks work for their living.

⁴⁹ *In Genesim*, p. 43 B.

⁵⁰ *Ad Cor.*, p. 449 A.

removes differences and schisms of every kind, and without which it is impossible that true harmony may obtain among men. In this there is unity with God, and unity of spirit with Christ His son, unity of truth, unity of hearts, unity of hope, unity of love, unity of blessed and eternal life. This is the true unity of the Church of Christ before God, which the church of Antichrist neither acknowledges nor has, and instead calls everyone into the adulterous unity "Babylonicae meretricis", nay, rather forces whom it can.⁵¹

The only catholicity of the Roman Church is that of errors, and the unity which the Protestants destroyed was wicked as was that which God sundered at Babel.⁵² Unity, however desirable, is not always righteous since it is sometimes found among thieves,⁵³ and strife and true piety are to be preferred to the former concord in superstitions and ignorance.⁵⁴ The peace of Christ should not be used as a shield for errors,⁵⁵ since truth, not peace as such, is the paramount good.⁵⁶ Musculus gave the familiar answer that the Church of Rome is not the Body of Christ or its head. If the Roman claims to these honors were valid, the Protestants would be culpable for having left her,⁵⁷ but when the dilemma is faced of being a member of the truly Catholic Church or of some corrupted branch of that Church, there is but one choice to make and that is to depart from the evil branch.⁵⁸ It is therefore incumbent upon those who wish church reform to leave the communion of Rome.⁵⁹ There were times when Musculus admitted the Roman Church to membership in the real Church, but in general he held that one had to leave its membership if he wished salvation.⁶⁰ Luther, too, felt that anyone upholding the papacy after reaching the age of responsibility lost his state of salvation and became guilty of its crimes.⁶¹ Separation from a church is not warranted by the presence of "tares" among its members, Musculus admitted, but when the worship itself is full of idolatry and impious superstitions, and the or-

⁵¹ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 2, p. 107 B. See *Loci*, pp. 302 A, 309 A.

⁵² *In Genesim*, p. 267 A.

⁵³ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 1, p. 127 B.

⁵⁴ *In Psalterium*, p. 480 D.

⁵⁵ *Prosaerus*, p. G. 4. b.

⁵⁶ *Loci*, p. 170 A.

⁵⁷ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 2, p. 34 B.

⁵⁸ *Loci*, p. 308 B.

⁵⁹ "Nos admonemur hoc loco (I Cor. 10:14), non esse satis si non colamus eidola, nisi etiam a cultu illorum abhorreamus, & abhorrentes fugiamus. Hic horror ferre non potest, vt cultibus simulacrorum cum Papistis adstet homo vere pius." *Ad Cor.*, p. 139 A.

⁶⁰ *Loci*, p. 301 A; *In Matthaeum*, p. 410 A.

⁶¹ *Völker*, pp. 26-29.

ganization exercises cruel tyranny which sheds the blood of Christians in the attempt to compel to its abominations, it is high time to depart.⁶² These evils have gained such a strong hold in the Church of Rome that they are irremediable, and people who leave such a fellowship to save their own souls are not liable to the charge of schism.⁶³ Tolerance and patience in the Church for the sake of peace are commendable, but there are certain limits beyond which they cease to be virtues.⁶⁴ Such bounds have been overstepped by the Roman Church and the Protestant separation is fully justified. The Protestants have not broken the true spiritual unity, are not schismatics in any blameworthy sense of that word, and can not be justly persecuted.

Not only did Musculus justify the Protestant separation from Rome, but he early gave up hope of worth while results from the various attempts at union and understanding between the two groups. In 1540 he represented Augsburg at the Colloquy of Worms, and again in 1541 at Regensburg. On April 12, 1541, he wrote that he suspected the genuineness of the imperial motives and asked to be recalled as his presence there could not be of much value.⁶⁵ A month later he told of conditions, was suspicious of everything touched by the papal legate, and outlined the Roman proposals as absolutely impossible of acceptance.⁶⁶ Calvin also looked with suspicion upon these projects of unity with Rome.⁶⁷ Bucer, however, until the very end of the Diet of Regensburg, continued to hope for some understanding with the more liberal Catholics, but, disappointed in this, he finally abandoned his old policy of mediation and came out openly against compromise with Rome.⁶⁸ In 1546 Musculus saw nothing to hope for from the new Colloquy of Regensburg and thought it a waste of time for good Protestant pastors to be absent from their

⁶² Since the Protestants have left the Roman Church "propter impiam idololatriam, qua est infecta, & propter sanctorum Dei mactationem, & crudelem & sanguinariam tyrannidem: reliquum est ut doceatur, an iste discessus sit licitus nec ne. Nos autem possumus docere non solum licitum esse, sed & necessarium hactenus a tali ecclesia secedere." *In Matthaeum*, p. 410 A.

⁶³ *Loci*, p. 407 A.

⁶⁴ "Simus tolerantes, vbi nec gloriae Dei, nec puritati fidei nostrae, nec saluti animarum quicquam incommodatur." *Ad Cor.*, p. 449 A. See Chapt. IV for a discussion of Musculus' concept of the adiaphora.

⁶⁵ Letter to George Herrwardt and Mang Seitz, Apr. 12, 1541; autograph, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, *Literaliensammlung*, 12/4, 1541.

⁶⁶ Letter to George Herrwardt, May 9, 1541; autograph, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, *Literaliensammlung*, 9/5, 1541.

⁶⁷ McNeill, pp. 179-180.

⁶⁸ Eells, pp. 301 ff.

churches.⁶⁹ He was consistently opposed to the Council of Trent and repeatedly wrote, upon its suspension in 1551, that he hoped it would never be resumed.⁷⁰ At another time he warned Bullinger to prepare for the resumption of the council, saying that if the Roman plans were to succeed there, Bullinger would be called before it, not to defend the truth, but to hear the sentence of condemnation.⁷¹ He saw Mars instead of Christ, the Prince of Peace, at the head of the council, and after describing the papal motives he concluded, "But I desist from the hateful and detestable thing."⁷² In 1560 he heard that the Catholics were agitating for a renewal of the Council of Trent and consoled himself by saying,

But God, Who completely scatters all the sly schemes of the Papists, is in His heaven.⁷³

Not only did Musculus oppose any kind of reunion with the Roman Church, but he forbade to Protestants any participation in its worship. Not for any cause may a Protestant make use of Roman ceremonies, for he is conscience bound to condemn the Roman Church and See as the seat of all impiety, idolatry, and similar evils, and dare not return to them.⁷⁴ Papal traditions should be avoided because they serve to promote ungodliness, superstition, and blindness; neither should men by clever interpretations justify conformity, for by their examples they confirm the common people in error.⁷⁵

With the apostle, we say to them [who wish to partake of both Roman and Protestant sacraments], "You are not able to drink the cup of the Lord and the cup 'purpuratae meretricis.' You can not be partakers of Christ and of the sacrifices of Antichrist."⁷⁶

In 1551 a catechism favoring the "Interim" was printed and circulated in Augsburg. Musculus realized that its anonymous author was favorably inclined toward Rome, so he wrote a reply to it from Bern saying,

⁶⁹ Letter to Conrad Hubertus, Jan. 14, 1546; autograph, Archives de la Ville de Strasbourg, *Epistolae ad historiam ecclesiasticam*—St. Thomas, Saec. XVI Pert. 6, No. 85.

⁷⁰ Letters to Bullinger: May 13, 1551; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 153; May 30, 1551; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 155.

⁷¹ Feb. 20, 1551; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 149.

⁷² Letter to Bullinger, July 15, 1551; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 157.

⁷³ Letter to Bullinger, Aug. 31, 1560; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 231.

⁷⁴ *Ad Philipp.*, p. 231 B.

⁷⁵ *Loci*, p. 423 B.

⁷⁶ *Ad. Cor.*, p. 146 B.

In order that I might refresh the minds of certain good people and clear my conscience before God, I have undertaken to bring to light this unclean spirit with his impure and seductive catechism and to shove his stink and falseness under his nose.⁷⁷

Musculus brooked nothing that looked toward compromise with Rome.

In view of the fact that Musculus opposed the Catholic Church in whole and in part, and saw in it the real obstacle to peace and unity,⁷⁸ it is not surprising that he hoped for and expected its destruction or decay.⁷⁹ Whereas the tyranny of Rome is greater than that of Babylon ever was, the freedom of the captive churches is dependent upon the destruction of the papacy as a whole, not upon the death of any particular pope who is then succeeded by a worse one. This destruction is coming by the spirit of the mouth of the Lord.⁸⁰ God did not permit the builders of Babel to finish their building, and the same thing is happening to the Roman Church.⁸¹ Whenever one sees a picture of the Roman pontiff with his triple diadem, let him declare confidently, "The crown of pride of the drunken pontiffs will be trodden under foot," for he has more and graver reasons for so saying than Isaiah had in speaking against Ephraim.⁸² Musculus was not sure when this destruction was to take place, but some years before the Catholic successes in 1547 he wrote to Bullinger that he expected it to happen soon.⁸³

The means which Musculus recommended to this end were various.⁸⁴ Men might pray to God and rely upon His judgment. Musculus' letters and writings are full of such expressions as,

⁷⁷ *Wider den unr. Cat.*, p. A. iii. a.

⁷⁸ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 2, p. 62 A.

⁷⁹ "Nun wol an / es were als lang es müg / so musz es doch endtlich zergohn / oder es musz alle schrift fehlen. Die schrift fehlet aber nicht." Letter to G. Herrwardt, Feb. 12, 1545; autograph, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, Literaliensammlung, 12/2, 1545. On Isa. 34:12: "Olim Roma consimili iudicio vastabitur. Et illius clerici lapides vastationis erunt: nec vocabunt amplius ibi Papatum, & sedem Apostolicam, & omnes cardinales eius in nihilum redigentur." *In Esaïam*, p. 408 A. "Promittunt salutem omnibus illis qui sunt obedientes Romanae ecclesiae filij: uerum ubi tempus eiectionis uenerit, mater illa cum filiis suis perpetuam eiectionis ignominiam subibit." *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 1, p. 161 B.

⁸⁰ *In Esaïam*, p. 241 A.

⁸¹ *In Genesim*, p. 267 B.

⁸² *In Esaïam*, p. 345 A.

⁸³ "Verum scriptum est / maledictus qui ponit carnem brachium suum. Quae sors sit hominis ac regni maledicti absque dubio propediem sedes haec maledictionis et meretrix immunda Babilon / habitatio daemonum ac custodia spiritus immundi / cui spiritus sanctus non uno loco curissimam ruinam minatur / experietur." Sept. 19, [1544?]; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 359 S. 2806.

⁸⁴ The means to which Luther looked for overthrowing the Roman Church were: (1) The power of the Word of God; (2) The fellowship of the truly faithful without use of force; (3) The Christian magistracy. Völker, p. 48.

I pray our Lord Jesus Christ, the One Mediator, Redeemer, and Saviour of all, that He will rescue His churches from the pontifical domination.⁸⁵

Glory be to God! The spirit of the papists is rendered confused and dejected. May the Lord confound them.⁸⁶

You see the Spanish iniquity and tyranny which the Lord shortly will shatter and crush.⁸⁷

I pray the Lord that He will exterminate Antichrist from all of Poland.⁸⁸

Along with "precibus ad Deum", the Protestants should also use sermons and writings in attacking the "architects of the Babylonian structure".⁸⁹ Puns and ridicule, too, are lawful weapons of those who know how to use them. Isaiah in his day ridiculed those who were supposed to watch but did not. It is now also proper to pun "episcopos" by "aposcopos, & episcotos". In German, one may well say, "bisz dschaf" for "bischof", and "geistlossen" instead of "geistlichen".⁹⁰

Whereas the cardinals of the seat of Rome are such carnal men and so inclined toward grasping earthly emoluments, they are more properly called "carnales & Carpinales" than "Cardinales". And the canons, that is, the regulars since they are vain men having nothing which corresponds with that title, could more properly be called "vanonici", that is, vain and empty, than "Canonici". And those in charge of the churches (praepositi), since they are not first in their zeal for piety, but last, if they were to be named by this our prophet would all be called preposterous (praeposteri).⁹¹

On the other hand, any who dare to speak of the "Euangelium" as the "euanhellum" will not go unpunished by God.⁹² Musculus did not limit activity against the papal power to the above methods, however. He expressed the wish that the great men and rulers of the world would rise against the oppressive domination of Antichrist.⁹³ He called upon the Germans, French, and other nations

⁸⁵ *Loci*, p. 646 B.

⁸⁶ Letter to Bullinger, Apr. 8, 1550; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 137.

⁸⁷ Letter to John Gastius, Sept. 11, 1551; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 159.

⁸⁸ Letter to Bullinger, Dec. 15, 1555; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 207.

⁸⁹ *In Genesim*, p. 268 B.

⁹⁰ *Ad Philipp.*, p. 68 B.

⁹¹ *In Esaiam*, p. 42 B.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 113 B.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 244 A; *Loci*, p. 419 A.

to break away from subjection to Roman decrees.⁹⁴ The Catholics who seek to deprive the people of access to the Bible are to be compelled by the public power of the Christian people.⁹⁵ In short, it is the duty of all Christian magistrates "to do away with the superstitious papal ceremonies among their people."⁹⁶ In such repression of Catholic services, however, Musculus never advocated cruel and unusual punishments. He never gave expression to a desire that Catholics be killed, as did Luther,⁹⁷ although the latter's utterances were notoriously harsher than his real desires and acts.

But Musculus was not satisfied with the mere abolition of the Roman ceremonies. In Augsburg he worked ardently for their ejection,⁹⁸ but when that was achieved he realized that constructive measures should be taken to insure Protestant success. On April 9, 1537, he wrote to Luther,

Thank the Lord! Since the ejection of the papists, there is such tranquillity in the whole city [Augsburg] that it would have been incredible if anyone beforehand had predicted such a peaceful future. Since in the Church of Christ, reverend father, it is not enough to cast out evils, it remains for us to make certain that those things which edify are instituted, and that we now diligently consider and adjust by a council of good and wise men those things which are lacking in our church.⁹⁹

In the preceding year he exclaimed in wonder and dismay that there were men who believed in tolerating faithless priests in the Church, leaving in their hands the "groeste und heyligste güter der kirchen".¹⁰⁰ He advocated that the city stop the perverted ceremonies in the churches and enforce the proper use of the build-

⁹⁴ "Audite Germani, Galli, Hispani, Angli, Hungari, Bohemi, Poloni, quid quasi uiuentes Romae, Romanis decretis tenemini? Vt mundana decreta in mundo ualent, ita sinite ut Romanorum pontificum decreta non apud uos, sed Romae ualeant." *Ad Philipp.*, p. 168 A.

⁹⁵ *Ad Rom.*, Praefatio, p. iii. A.

⁹⁶ *Vom Gwalt*, p. 25 b-26 a. In *Auff das Büchlin*, p. N. ii. B - N. iii. A, he said that he favored doing away with "Die verwüstung Christlicher Religion".

⁹⁷ Paulus, pp. 16, 17, 19, 20, has cited a number of such utterances by Luther where he speaks of a desire to wash his hands in the blood of cardinals and popes; wishes for more kings of England to kill them; desires to have all of the Franciscans in a single house so that he might burn them; and, in 1545, says he would drown the pope, cardinals, and all the Roman rabble if he were emperor. Luther said they were blasphemers. Musculus did not make that charge. Bucer was willing that war be waged to stamp out false religion. Eells, p. 184.

⁹⁸ "Von den Predigern war schon seit langem Musculus der rührigste. Sein Wahlspruch war: 'Fort mit der Abgötterei der Papisten, fort mit den Pfaffen!' Und er wurde nicht müde, diese Forderungen, die er für Gewissenspflicht hielt, bei jeder Gelegenheit zu wiederholen." Roth, vol. 2, p. 288.

⁹⁹ Enders, *Luther's Briefwechsel*, vol. 11, p. 225.

¹⁰⁰ *Vom Gwalt*, p. 29 A.

ings. In this he opposed the Wittenberg opinion of 1536 which held that churches under imperial jurisdiction in Augsburg should be left in Roman hands.¹⁰¹ Musculus did not favor confiscation of the goods of the bishops and other Roman officials, but he demanded the purification or abolition of the ceremonies and the taking over of the churches, believing that thus, in the course of time, the whole papal system would be destroyed. The goods of the Church must be recovered for the Church, however, not for the civil rulers.¹⁰²

An excellent example of Musculus' method of introducing a religious reform in a town is his procedure in Donauwörth where he was sent by the Augsburg Rat in 1545. On January 28 he appeared before the Donauwörth Rat and objected to certain religious practices which he considered intolerable,

as that a papist still appears in the pulpit and announces holy day, vigils, "Tergezeit", etc., and the schoolmaster and his pupils sing at the preaching service, and afterwards also chant at the mass.¹⁰³

On February 10 he wrote that his purpose was to introduce the Augsburg ceremonies gradually so that the Romanists would be driven out and the people cling to no other church practices than those of his city.¹⁰⁴ By February 25 he became more aggressive, for he wrote that he had told the Donauwörth Rat that two religions could not be tolerated in the same city and that the youth should not be permitted to participate in both Catholic and Protestant services.¹⁰⁵ He utilized both the civil power and teaching, and was shortly successful in displacing the Catholic worship.

It is thus apparent that Musculus was largely intolerant in his attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church. He considered it a great enemy of the Gospel, a public heresy, the kingdom of Antichrist, and an inherently evil organization. His denunciations were bitter, his comparisons derogatory, and his opposition vigorous. He saw no hope of reform within that organization; consequently, only abandonment and complete separation were left to the sincere Christian, and no confidence could be placed in any proposals for

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27 B.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* "Sy seind leibs uñ guts vor uns wol sicher/wir aber nitt vor inen." *Auff das Büchlin*, p. N. iii. a.

¹⁰³ Letter to G. Herrwardt, Jan. 28, 1545; autograph, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, Literalienammlung, 28/1, 1545.

¹⁰⁴ Letter to G. Herrwardt, Feb. 10, 1545; autograph, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, Literalienammlung, 10/2, 1545.

¹⁰⁵ Letter to G. Herrwardt, Feb. 25, 1545; autograph, Stadtarchiv, Augsburg, Literalienammlung, 25/2, 1545.

arbitration and compromise. He hoped and prayed for the downfall of the papacy and worked toward that end by ridicule, by advocating civil compulsion, and by demanding national resistance to Roman decrees. Such an intolerant attitude was based upon his thought of God's complete sovereignty and the obedience due His laws, the authority of the Bible, the proper organization of the Church, the nature of the sacraments and worship, and the constitution of the magistrate's office.

On the other hand, his intolerance was limited. He no doubt was sincere when he said that the worst thing that could be done to the Catholics would be to let them go on in their services, but that those who wished their salvation more than their condemnation would join with him in doing away with their evil practices and in saving as many as possible.¹⁰⁶ He admitted salvation to be possible though difficult in the Roman Church, limited the measures of civil compulsion, and safeguarded the lives and goods of the Catholic clergy.

¹⁰⁶ *Auff' das Büchlin*, pp. N. ii. b - N. iii. a.

OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS

A distinct danger to the existence and success of the Christian Church lies in the divisions and separations which are found among those claiming membership and in the strife engendered by such divisions. This peril faced the Church of Musculus' day not only in the bitter differences between the Roman Catholics and Protestants but also in the controversies among the various non-Catholic groups.

An approach to inter-Protestant understanding was offered in Musculus' ideal of spiritual rather than organizational unity already set forth in the preceding chapter. It enabled him to say that those churchmen who think they will regain ecclesiastical unity when they succeed in enforcing external conformity are foolish, for it would be much better to ignore outward differences and trust to the inward unity of the spirit.¹ Another approach lay in Musculus' distinction between things essential and things indifferent whereby he classed among the adiaphora many elements which a strict churchman would not place there. This practice of liberty in non-essentials and strictness in essentials goes a long way toward explaining how Calvin, Bucer, and Musculus could be "Unionsmänner" and at the same time persecutors of heretics. Musculus was able to plead,

Let us be tolerant where there is nothing unsuited to the glory of God, the purity of our faith, or the salvation of souls.²

In Musculus' *Prosaerus*, Eusebius, the Christian character, when asked what he considered "free, indifferent, and permitted" things in religion, replied,

Whatever things in themselves are not repugnant to the Word of grace, such as food, drink, dress, observance of days, and other similar rites by which the sincerity of Christian faith is not impaired.³

In another place Musculus put among the adiaphora all the things which are not divine commands.⁴ Necessary articles of faith must

¹ In *Genesim*, p. 361 B.

² "Simus tolerantes, vbi nec gloriae Dei, nec puritati fidei nostrae, nec saluti animarum quicquam incommodatur." *Ad Cor.*, p. 449 A.

³ *Prosaerus*, p. C.2. a.

⁴ "Aut enim sunt diuinitus praecepta, aut sunt adiaphora. Si diuinitus praecepta sunt, pertinent ad omnes Christianos: atque ita non constituunt singularem perfectionis statum in Ecclesia. Non sunt autem praecepta. Ergo pertinent ad res adiaphoras, & omnibus liberas." *Loci*, p. 572 B.

be proved by the Scriptures, but outward practices of ceremony do not need to be so authenticated and may be adapted to local conditions so long as they are not contrary to the Bible. Musculus did not even stickle for identical interpretations of the sacraments, desiring to be friendly with all men who love Christ.⁵ But things which in themselves are indifferent when they are free and optional cease to be so when they are commanded by men as necessary to faith. In the latter case they become forbidden to the Christian.⁶ Musculus condemned the attitude which called for identical doctrinal interpretation before there could be peace.⁷ He sought to minimize the differences between the Protestant groups and pointed to the plague of mutual judgments and denunciations among the various orders and sects.⁸ Often it is necessary, he said, that individual opinion be subordinated for the sake of the general order⁹ which can be preserved if those differing are really Christian.¹⁰ He desired freedom to speak his opinions and was willing to grant the same privilege to others.¹¹

Musculus was very much opposed to the Protestant bickerings. Because they brought the cause into peril, he predicted that unless the needless controversies were soon settled, the same fate would overtake the Church in Germany which had befallen the divided Greek Church under the Mohammedans.¹² All the troubles of Germany attendant upon the imposition of the Augsburg "Interim" were due solely to Protestant divisions.¹³ He told Bullinger in 1562 that the dissensions among the Protestants disturbed

⁵ *Auff das Büchlin*, p. j. iiii. a; *Loci*, p. 310 B; Letter to Bullinger, Dec. 9, 1544; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 346 S. 128 tergo.

⁶ *Prosaerus*, p. C. 2. a.

⁷ Letter to Bullinger, Nov. 19, 1545; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 77 [1].

⁸ *In Matthaeum*, p. 181 B.

⁹ "Det Dominus ministris suis spiritum sobrietatis ac modestiae / et largiatur ut magis aedificandis ecclesijs quam privatis affectibus serviant. Magnus lutherus / magnus zwinglius / sed christi ecclesia maior utroque. Funiculum hunc contentionis spiritu pacis suae abrumpat Dominus." Letter to Bullinger, Dec. 9, 1544; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 346 S. 129.

¹⁰ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 1, pp. 127 B - 128 A.

¹¹ *Loci*, pp. 287 B - 288 A.

¹² *In Esaiam*, p. 276 A.

¹³ "Quae anno 48 miseranda ac pudenda in Germania nostra accidit defectio, non potest viribus Antichristi ac satellitum illius adscribi, sed plane est nostrorum tribuenda discordiae pariter ac socordiae, quare nostro exemplo admoniti, ambulate in causa Domini cum timore ac tremore." Letter to Cruciger and the ministers of the Polish churches, Dec. 10, 1555; autograph, Zofingen Bibliothek, MS. T. P. 14, No. 233.

him more than "the impious schemes of our adversaries".¹⁴ Another evil result of these controversies was that Christ was thereby obscured to the eyes of the world and was blasphemed.¹⁵ The Protestant movement, too, meant so much to Musculus that he disliked such manifestations.¹⁶ Finally, his emphasis upon the spirit of love as the expression of true religion also moved him to peaceable activity. He regularly wrote and prayed for peace and concord, urging the ministers to work together in a spirit of mutual love and true doctrine, since the absence of this harmony had been the cause of most of the ills of the Church from the very beginning.¹⁷ He told Bullinger that if Haller should try to introduce anything new into the Augsburg Church he himself would do what he could to preserve peace among the ministers and prevent a disturbance there.¹⁸ He wrote Curio that he could not approve of his *De Amplitudine Beati Regni Dei* because it contained disputable material which would cause the fires of contention to blaze forth anew.¹⁹ To the churches in Poland he stressed the necessity for unity and concord,²⁰ and refused to take sides in the Christological disputes raging in that country, saying that he loved men of both parties and prayed that they

would settle and terminate this dissension among them by their zeal for peace and edification.²¹

¹⁴ Feb. 27, 1562; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 359 S. 3035. "Quod me attinet / non tam illorum consilia / quam nostra dissidia timeo." Letter to Bullinger, March 15, 1562; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 233.

¹⁵ *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 706 B.

¹⁶ Grote, p. 182, records an interesting sidelight upon the character of Musculus and the genuineness of his religious attitude: "Als er kurz vor seinem Tode von einem seiner früheren Ordensbrüder, Namens Merius, besucht and gefragt wurde, warum er seinen Glauben verändert habe, antwortete er: 'Weil mein Glaube [nämlich der frühere, römische] mich nicht verändert hat.' Diese treffende Antwort machte auf den Benediktinermönch einen solchen Eindruck, dass er sich entschloss, auch seinen Glauben zu verändern, d. h. ein evangelischer Christ zu werden." Also footnote on the same page: "'Mutavi, quia non mutavit me, mot équivoque, qui fixa le destin de Merius, c'est le nom du Bénédictin, qui se fit protestant.' Memoir de Lorraine par Chevrier. s. 101."

¹⁷ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 1, p. 7 B.

¹⁸ Letter to Bullinger, Nov. 19, 1545; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 77 [2].

¹⁹ June 29, 1557; autograph, Univ.-Bibl., Basel, Epistolae C. Secundi Curionis & Variorum, G. T. 66.

²⁰ "Versandum vobis erit in timore Domini et summopere cavendum, ne in partes ac studia scindamini. Ambulate coram Domino cordibus synceris, et mutuas vestras operas reformandis Ecclesijs et scholis concorditer coniungite. Invictum robur est concordiae, si coeat in Domino, et patrocinium veritatis iusto zelo suscipiat. Cum primis huc incumbite, ut verbum Domini quovis pacto spargatur in Polonia." Letter to D. D. Spitek Jordan de Zackliczin, (no date, from Bern); autograph, Zofingen Bibliothek, MS. T. P. 14, No. 234.

²¹ *Ad Philipp.*, p. 357 B.

In 1544 he wrote to Bullinger regarding his fear of the outbreak of new disputes,²² and later in the same year requested that Bullinger, for the sake of future peace, avoid bitter words of controversy.²³ In 1557 he wrote to Ambrose Blaurer decrying the practice of vituperation among the Evangelicals and said that he thought Calvin should handle more gently those who disagreed with him.²⁴ Musculus said that if any of the Protestants were to call him a heretic he would pray for them and quietly explain his meaning, charging their act to error and zeal.²⁵ A copy of the reply of the Bern ministers to the question from Geneva regarding Bolsec is extant in Musculus' handwriting.²⁶ If it was not his composition, it at least had his approval. In this reply Bern refused to condemn Bolsec and prayed for a reconciliation of the two parties. In addition, the ministers urged Geneva to proceed cautiously in enforcing the doctrine of predestination, since it was not adapted to the spiritually immature and there were many places in Scripture which taught the universal love of God. Musculus also pleaded for mutual toleration in understanding the Lord's Supper, and said that if every person must think exactly the same regarding it there would be endless controversy.²⁷

Musculus gave proof of his willingness to compromise in non-essentials to preserve the peace. He attended and supported the Eisenach Conference of 1536 which sought understanding with the Lutherans on the Supper. Later, after he had introduced the Reform in Donauwörth in 1545, the Rat of that city voted to use the Nürnberg ceremonies in spite of Musculus' efforts to have those of Augsburg adopted. He could not conscientiously administer the Nürnberg rites himself but aided the Rat in finding a minister who would.²⁸ He struck at the root of the Protestant controversies and

²² Apr. 4; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 347 S. 268.

²³ Dec. 9, 1544; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 346 S. 129.

²⁴ Upon the occasion of having read *Brevis responsio ad diluendas nebulonis* [Castellio] *de praedestinatione*: "deinde velim modestiora, quam sunt illa 'nebulonis', canis, latrator'; sunt enim inter eos, qui evangelium Christi hodie non sine magna existimatione docent, non pauci, qui prorsus idem sentiant, quod iste latrator, quibus parcendum esse puto. Quod me attinet, a Calvino nec in hac causa dissentio; existimo tamen in confirmanda illa moderatius esse cum contra dicentibus agendum." Jan. 29, 1558; Schiesz, vol. 3, pp. 239-240.

²⁵ *Loci*, p. 616 A.

²⁶ Stadt-Bibliothek, Bern, MSS. Hist. Helv. III 130 No. 50; also Turretinus, pp. 103-106.

²⁷ *Loci*, p. 379 B. This latitude granted by Musculus, and also shown in other connections, places him among the "Geistesahnen" of Acontius. Köhler, "Geistesahnen des J. Acontius," pp. 199-205, places Capito, Bucer, Farel, Oecolampadius, Castellio, and Ambrose Blaurer in this fellowship as well.

²⁸ Letter to Welser and Herprot, Mar. 10, 1545; Stieve, pp. 456-460.

went back to what he considered the soul of genuine religion when he said that true love would do away with even the disputes on faith and works, for it would be effective in producing good works. Such disputes, he said, indicated a poor condition in the spiritual life of the Church.²⁹

In none of Musculus' published writings are strongly denunciatory statements of any of the recognized Protestant bodies found, whether Lutherans, Calvinists, English Protestants, or Waldenses. He did not agree with any of them on all points, but he seems to have adhered to his principle already set forth—to speak his own opinions and to give those of others a respectful hearing if they were not spoken contentiously. At times his letters express disgust or disapproval of certain tendencies among the Protestants.

Those things you write relative to the improbity of the Lutherans have already become known to me "ad nauseam". Small wonder that we marvel at this unchecked and impudent lust of malediction in them. They have not been taught better. They do not know how to bless, since they have imbibed evil-speaking from their teachers to such an extent that maledictions flow wantonly from their mouths without forethought. They think that they have properly done their duty when they dismiss their gatherings after having mainly heaped abuses upon the Sacramentarians, as they call us. Pray the Lord that He may restore them to a better mind.³⁰

Again he told Bullinger,

I detest the pernicious arrogance of the Jena theologians to such an extent that I can not keep quiet. I indeed admire the writing of the Landgrave which is worthy of a Christian ruler, but it irks me very much that there is less of true theology and more of superciliousness in those theologians than in the prince whom they condemn ahead of themselves.³¹

In the same letter he continued,

You say truly that it is a great wrong for the Lutherans to identify us with the Anabaptists since the errors of the latter are bared and refuted by us rather than by them. We kill their errors; they [the Lutherans] are better prepared to kill the bodies of the erring.

²⁹ "Nec de fide & operibus tantopere altercaremur hodie, si vera essemus dilectione praediti. Per hanc enim efficax esset fides, & omnis generis bona opera proferret. Quare huiusmodi disputationes satis arguunt, parum fidei ac dilectionis reliquum esse in Ecclesijs Christi, etiam inter eos qui de cognitione veritatis plurimum gloriantur." *Loci*, p. 534 B.

³⁰ Letter to Bullinger, Aug. 2, 1555; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 359 S. 2949.

³¹ Letter to Bullinger, Aug. 24, 1560; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 371 S. 808.

Such reactions were to be expected in view of Musculus' stand against exclusive tendencies among Protestants, but it reflects favorably upon his general attitude that he confined himself to private correspondence for even such comparatively moderate words.

Musculus worked for inter-Protestant unity and peace. A temporary estrangement between him and Bucer occurred in 1532-1533 due to some ambiguous words which the latter used in an opinion sent to Melanchthon.³² A reconciliation soon took place, however, and under Bucer's leadership Musculus arrived at a position which was consistently and ardently mediating.³³ Bucer seems to have won Melanchthon to the pacific task in 1534,³⁴ although the latter

failed to comprehend Bucer's idea that the spirit of peace was worth more than the letter of orthodoxy.³⁵

These two men were the leaders in attempting Protestant unity between 1530 and 1550,³⁶ Bucer being the more enthusiastic of the two, and Melanchthon the more influential because of his intimate association with Luther.³⁷ But they were not alone in their efforts, for many other Protestants sympathized with and aided them. Capito favored Bucer's efforts for concord with the Lutherans,³⁸ while

Calvin and Cranmer, not to mention minor leaders, were . . . hardly less than Bucer, though less exclusively than he, devoted to the unification of the church.³⁹

For a time Calvin was not sympathetic toward Bucer's efforts at a Swiss-Lutheran understanding,⁴⁰ but his later interest in the work

³² Eells, pp. 141-142, 160-161.

³³ Streuber, p. 76; Grote, pp. 135, 139; Roth, vol. 2, p. 101. "Musculus est . . . un homme qui 'cherche la paix et la poursuit,' mérite trop rare à cette époque violente pour n'être pas relevé. Calvin l'avait jugé ainsi et appelé quelque part le 'bonhomme Musculus.'" Lenoir, p. 21. "Er war mehr ein Friedensmann als ein Kämpfer. . . . in Bern wusste er die Konflikte zu meiden." A. Haller, p. 499. "Vielmehr war er ja ein Verfechter der Versöhnung in Protestantismus und suchte die Gegensätze möglichst auszugleichen und zu verwischen." Grimme, p. 10. "Er war nichts weniger als ein Parteimann, vielmehr hat er zeitlebens die Unterschiede zwischen den reformatorischen Richtungen für unwesentlich und das Streiten und Zanken der Theologen für ein Unrecht gehalten." Hadorn, p. 584. Bucer's leadership in this field has been ably set forth in a recent biography, Eells, *Martin Bucer*, 1931.

³⁴ Eells, p. 179.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³⁶ McNeill, p. 144.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

³⁸ Eells, p. 138.

³⁹ McNeill, p. 176.

⁴⁰ Eells, p. 231.

was due in part to his experience with Bucer while staying in Strasbourg during his exile from Geneva.⁴¹ He became a champion of Protestant unity.⁴² This was particularly evident in his controversy with Westphal and his followers.⁴³ The insuperable obstruction to inter-Protestant union seems to have been the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.⁴⁴ Such men as Luther, Zwingli, Bullinger, Jud, and later Westphal and Flacius, were indifferent or actively opposed to the efforts of Bucer and his sympathizers.⁴⁵

But however tolerant and desirous for peace Musculus may have been with the other bodies of the recognized Protestants, his attitude toward those sects which he considered heretical was quite different. Although he wrote about the Anabaptists frequently, he mentioned the other border movements of the Reformation but rarely. In 1538 he tried to stop the reprinting of Sebastian Franck's *Chronica*,⁴⁶ but without success. In 1531 he wrote to Bucer that he would continue to treat Schwenkfeld as a brother

as long as he was useful to the Lord and did not disrupt fraternal harmony,⁴⁷

but by 1560 he classified the Schwenkfeldians among the non-church-forming heretics.⁴⁸ He placed the teachings of David Joris among those heresies which seek followers by making carnal appeals, and asked,

Does not this [carnal appeal] appear in the diabolical and execrable heresy of David Joris who teaches his followers the nakedness of Adam and Eve and promiscuous lechery without any difference of women, and promises true happiness to those who obey him?⁴⁹

Joris was classed with Mohammed as a "most impious heresiarch".⁵⁰

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 237; McNeill, pp. 182-184.

⁴² Völker, p. 252, holds that Calvin's "theologische Entwicklung bereitete in ihm den Unionsmann vor." McNeill, p. 217, cites Reichel, *Calvin als Unionsmann*, p. 41, and agrees that it was his love of the Church which inspired his union activity.

⁴³ Völker, p. 253.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79, 108-110; McNeill, pp. 159-160, 209-211; Eells, pp. 115, 181.

⁴⁶ Letter to Frecht, Sept. 16, 1538; apograph, Bibl. Univ. et Reg., Strasbourg, Thes. Baum., vol. 11, No. 169.

⁴⁷ Oct. 3, 1531; autograph, Archives de la Ville de Strasbourg, Epist. ad Hist. Eccles. Saec. XVI Pert. 6, No. 82.

⁴⁸ *Loci*, p. 603 B.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 605 A.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 606 A-B.

In his numerous references to the Anabaptists themselves, Musculus often used such derogatory terms as "the most stubborn race of men",⁵¹ and "the fanatical Anabaptists".⁵² This practice gives a good index to his general attitude toward their doctrines and customs. He looked upon them as troublemakers, saying that their type of agitation had disturbed the Church since apostolic times,⁵³ and that they were more inclined to sedition than peace.⁵⁴ He denounced their occasional outbursts of fanatical devotion.⁵⁵ He believed that Satan worked through this sect to call the incautious from the Word of God.⁵⁶ Musculus found the Anabaptists set in their ways and repeatedly cried out against what he called their stubbornness, because they would never admit themselves vanquished in argument.

How well I know it of you that you never admit yourselves won by anyone. If you do not know of any answer to give, then you say, "The Father has not spoken," it is not yet your time, "The Spirit desires some one else," or so on you fall from one answer to another like a slippery eel in a fish bucket when one tries to grasp it.⁵⁷

They miss the spirit of the Bible by being too literal in their interpretation.⁵⁸ They do not leave a city where they are not wanted, and even return after they have been ejected, thus acting contrary to the examples of Isaac⁵⁹ and Christ⁶⁰ who departed when ordered and thus justified the right of ministers to leave when

⁵¹ *In Matthaeum*, p. 115 A.

⁵² *Loci*, p. 198 B. "spiritus phanaticos." *In Esaiam*, p. 503 B.

⁵³ *Ad Cor.*, p. 403 B.

⁵⁴ "Et catabaptistae plus seditionibus apti,
Quam paci, obsecro, quae non mala parturiunt?"
Metered letter to Blaurer, *Synopsis*, p. 90.

⁵⁵ "Quare furor est hominum phanaticorum, non legitima obedientia, quo inter Anabaptistas frater fratri ante oculos parentum caput ense decutit, quale facinus in agro Sangallensium nostra aetate perpetratum esse constat." *In Genesim*, p. 517 A. Referring to fratricide of Thomas Schugger. See Johannes Kessler's Sabbata St. Galler Reformationschronik 1523-1539, bearbeitet von Traugott Schiess. *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* Nr 103/104 (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 54-56.

⁵⁶ *In Matthaeum*, p. 400 B.

⁵⁷ *Ain frydsams unnd Christlichs Gesprech*, p. B. i. b.

⁵⁸ "Warlich mein Adolf [an Anabaptist] / es ist nit die klainst ursach ewrer irthumb / das ir so starck auf den buchstaben fallen / und nit acht haben auf den synn und verstand des Herrn / damit ir mehr verstündend was der Herr sagen wölle / dann was die wort für ain ansehen haben." *Ibid.*, p. C. ii. b.

⁵⁹ "In discessu Isaac admonemur, ne inuitis magistratibus ac principibus sedes aliquandiu concessas retinere tentemus. Anabaptistae ubi ditiones exire iubentur, renuunt, dicentes: Domini est terra & plenitudo eius. Et nos sumus filij & haeredes Domini. Ergo non possumus eijci." *In Genesim*, p. 597 A.

⁶⁰ *In Matthaeum*, pp. 231-232.

they are not listened to,⁶¹ and, by imputation, upheld the right of a city not to listen to unwelcome teaching. Finally, their "apathy and stony stupidity" are so out of accord with Christian sentiment and humanness that their religion may better be called Stoicism than Christianity.⁶² Musculus' reasons for considering the Anabaptists heretics were based not only on the common ones that they opposed infant baptism and the taking of oaths,⁶³ but also because of their doctrines that a Christian can not sin,⁶⁴ that it is wrong for a Christian to aid in the defense of the commonwealth,⁶⁵ that evil should not be resisted,⁶⁶ and that men should clear the "tares" out of the Church.⁶⁷

Musculus did not make frequent mention of the anti-Trinitarians. He was one of the more moderate in dealing with Gribaldi in 1556 and by convincing him to sign an acceptable confession of faith was instrumental in saving him from death.⁶⁸ Musculus' most specific reaction is recorded in correspondence relative to Servetus. He imputed to him the desire to make Geneva his headquarters for disseminating his heretical doctrines. He also enumerated some of Servetus' errors and said, "I abhor vehemently those noxious and impious teachings." He prayed that the Lord would curb "Satanam hunc".⁶⁹ After the burning of Servetus, Musculus wrote to Ambrose Blaurer of Constance a metered expression

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 327 B.

⁶² *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 550 B; *In Psalterium*, p. 226 D.

⁶³ *Loci*, p. 603 A. For Musculus' defense of Evangelical baptism see his "De baptismo", *Ibid.*, pp. 328-343. For his defense of oath taking see "De Iuramento", *In Psalterium*, pp. 1174-1183.

⁶⁴ "Zu dem / so streiten wir wider das unsinning wonsichtig geschlecht der Wider-täufer / welliche sich der wort Johannis / wider das gemüt und gaist / ja auch wider seine wort selb / miszbrauchen / unnd sagen / das ain Christ nit künde sündigen." *Auff das Büchlin*, p. S. i. a.

⁶⁵ *In Genesim*, p. 741 B.

⁶⁶ *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 51 A.

⁶⁷ *In Matthaeum*, p. 40 A.

⁶⁸ Ruffini, "Il Giureconsulto . . . Gribaldi," pp. 242-243, 252; Trechsel, p. 290; Vuilleumier, p. 624; Haller, p. 496.

⁶⁹ "Michael Servetus qui ante annos viginti Argentorati fuit / ibique virus suum spargere coepit / nuper Genevam venit / abusus invidia qua magnates illic Calvinum prosequantur / speravit se illic sedem invenire posse unde et reliquis ecclesijs negocium facere posset coepit seminare semen impietatis / et voces de capitibus religionis nostrae eiaculari vehementer impias et noxias / de Deo / de Deitate / de S. Triade / de personis Trinitatibus / de verbo / de Spiritu / de Christo filio Dei / de anima et carne illius / de communicatione substantialis deitatis / de origine et aeternitate spirituum nostrorum / de angelis / et de paedobaptismate. . . . Vehementer abhorreo ab istis tam noxijs et impijs dogmatibus. Infelix homo sua ex scriptis Tertull. et Irenei fulcire nititur / quamvis ij soli Christianae fidei puri fuerint doctoris / caeteri omnes a Niceno Concilio fulsi et erronei. Dominus reprimat Satanam hunc et servet Ecclesias in fidei puritate." Letter to Bullinger, Sept. 28, 1553; autograph, Staatsarchiv, Zürich, E II 360 S. 193.

of his opinion approving of the death of the man and offering a justification for it.⁷⁰ Two months later in another letter to the same friend he enlarged upon his former expression by saying that he did not disapprove of the burning but thought that it could have been defended better if it had been done on the charge of blasphemy instead of heresy.⁷¹

Blasphemy was to Musculus the most heinous form of sin since it contained the elements of scorn, derision, and disrespect.⁷² He blasphemes God publicly "who reviles Him openly". They blaspheme secretly

who, although they praise God with the mouth, nevertheless think, feel, and even repeatedly say such things about Him as do not at all harmonize with His majesty, divinity, goodness, power, justice, word, and truth.⁷³

Sometimes men blaspheme ignorantly, and for such prayer may be made,⁷⁴ but those who blaspheme consciously sin unto death and

⁷⁰ "Servetus ex Hispania,
Qui tandiu non debuit
Christi redemptoris fidem
Lingua scelestâ polluens
Inter fideles vivere,
Hic triplicem nos bestiam
Et Sathanæ Phantasmata,
Illusiones daemonum
Deumque imaginarium
Habere dixit pro deo
Et propter hanc blasphemiam
Linguamque detestabilem,
Non propter errores graves,
Quibus scatebat plurimis,
Flammis Genevæ absumptus est.
Octobris is vicesimus
Erat dies et septimus,
Annus, novus quo concidit
Elector et dux Saxonum,
Cum marchionis copias
Acri interemisset manu."

Dec. 22, 1553; Schiez, vol. 3, p. 223.

⁷¹ "De Serveto, quod flammis est absumptus, non improbo factum senatus Genevensis; existimo autem potuisse illud rectius et convenientius defendi titulo blasphemiae quam titulo haereseos." Febr. 27, 1554; *Ibid.*, p. 239.

⁷² "Peccatum est, quo contra iustitiae rectitudinem delinquitur. Blasphemia est, quando non solum limites recti transiliuntur, sed & illud in quod delinquitur, vituperatur, ac probris afficitur. Peccatum est, quicquid contra doctrinam veritatis delinquitur. Sic sane multi delinquant. Verum non mox blasphemus est contra doctrinam veritatis, qui sic peccat, nisi illam probris & Conutiis insectetur, & haereticam, erroneam ac diabolicam vocet." *Loci*, p. 32 B. *In Matthaeum*, p. 384 B.

⁷³ *In Psalterium*, p. 96 C-D.

⁷⁴ *Loci*, p. 33 A.

are not proper objects of prayer,⁷⁵ for God's anger is thoroughly stirred when sins are committed out of contempt.⁷⁶ Willful blasphemers can not be forgiven because they have shown themselves reprobates, captives of Satan, vessels of wrath, and destined for destruction.⁷⁷ Heretics who have sinned grievously are not to be killed so long as they do not blaspheme, but "the law of God does not permit the blasphemer to live."⁷⁸ It is evident that men who blatantly and persistently struck at what Musculus considered the very foundations of Christian truth were not classed by him as heretics but were placed into the category of blasphemers. He had no mercy for such men and considered their execution a part of the duty of legal magistrates.⁷⁹ Musculus never justified death for heretics but only for blasphemers, a distinction which with him remained clear and significant. Had Servetus been burned as a blasphemer, said Musculus, many "boni viri" who think and write otherwise concerning the burning of *heretics* would thus have been spared offense and the Romanists would not have been encouraged to pursue their persecutions of those they considered heretics more cruelly than before.⁸⁰ Luther and Melancthon, too, reserved the death penalty for blasphemy, but they gradually put into that category things which previously had always been considered as heresy or mere error.⁸¹ Musculus, however, restricted the field of blasphemy closely, but not as narrowly as did Sebastian Castellio who disapproved of Servetus' death.⁸²

It is thus apparent that Musculus considered all these religious groups, aside from the recognized Protestant divisions, heretics. The Roman Catholic Church is a great general heresy, the Schwenkfeldians and the Anabaptists are heretics, the followers of David Joris are worse, and the anti-Trinitarians border upon if

⁷⁵ "Alterum eorum, qui non per ignorantiam incognitam veritatem, sed cognitam scienter contra ipsorum conscientiam propter invidiam obstinatamque maliciam blasphemant, pro quibus orandum non est, quia peccant ad mortem." *Ibid.* See *In Matthaeum*, p. 385 B. But Musculus was not always uniform in this sentiment, for elsewhere he permitted prayer even for those who apparently sin unforgivably.

⁷⁶ *Loci*, p. 505 B.

⁷⁷ *In Matthaeum*, p. 386 A.

⁷⁸ *Loci*, p. 612 A.

⁷⁹ *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 426 A.

⁸⁰ Letter to A. Blaurer, Febr. 27, 1554; Schiesz, vol. 3, p. 239.

⁸¹ Faulkner, pp. 10-11; Paulus, pp. 36-37, 72-73. The mediaeval church persecuted men for heresy and under that name. Luther punished the same offense, not as heresy, but as blasphemy. Burr, p. 724.

⁸² Bainton, "Sebastian Castellio and the Toleration Controversy of the Sixteenth Century."

they do not fall into the category of blasphemers. As heresies, the above are wrong because all heresies are evil. Not all heresies are equally blameworthy, however, those being least harmful which err in secondary things; those more obnoxious which oppose any article of faith; while those are worst of all which shake the foundations of salvation in either the Trinity, the unity of the Divine Majesty, or the twofold nature of Christ.⁸³ Heresies, too, are evil because of their sources, coming primarily from Satan, and secondarily from the flesh,

for pride, sophistical knowledge, malice, and impatience, are like certain prostitutes from whom heresies are born.⁸⁴

Again, heresies are culpable because the heretics themselves are undesirable types of men.⁸⁵ Lastly, they are hurtful because of the harm they do. Through heresies men are led out of the way of truth into the wilderness of lies; they are made adversaries and blasphemers of the truth; they are shut out of the Kingdom of God; they become corrupt in mind; and they are joined to the devil. Because of heresies, the Church is harmed by having the simple led out of its truthful way, quarrels are fomented, the authority of the Scriptures is impaired, and the Christian religion is defamed among outsiders by the introduction of uncertainty and conflicting statements.⁸⁶

Musculus had a twofold practice in the treatment of heretics conditioned upon whether the Church is on the defensive or the offensive. If the enemies of the Church are strong and if the message does not seem to produce results, the minister can console himself with the thought that Christ also came to call, not to compel, and that the worthy respond but the unworthy do not.⁸⁷ Moreover, it should not trouble the Christian to see many departing from the truth of the Gospel, since it is impossible for the reprobate to remain with the elect.⁸⁸ In this connection, the doctrine of reprobation worked for tolerance in Musculus. Again, it is well

⁸³ *Loci*, p. 606 A-B.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 604 A.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 606 A.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 606 A-607 A.

⁸⁷ "Digni ergo sunt, qui uocati ad gratiam ueniunt: indigni, qui respuunt. Ita & nos solemus dicere, si quando beneficentia nostra respuitur. Certe dignus non es, cui ad hunc modum benefaciam." *In Matthaeum*, p. 245 A.

⁸⁸ "Neminem ergo turbet, quod etiam hodie multi discipulorum euangelicam ueritatem deserunt. Qui non sunt ex ueris discipulis Christi, inter illos manere non poterunt, sed necesse est ut olim deficiant ac separentur." *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 280 B.

to remember that Jesus did not curse those who left him.⁸⁹ If, however, the Church is militant and wishes to win back its deserters or gain recruits from the camp of the enemy, there is but one thing to do with heretics,

it must be seen to that they are corrected and brought back to a sound mind.⁹⁰

The lapsed must first be cured of their errors, then be incorporated in the truth. Correction of this type pertains to the true Christian who, in this task, will do according to the "certain and infallible rule of truth" which is not derived from custom or papal opinions, "but from the writings of God's Word". He will correct in the spirit of Christ, "which is the spirit of love, patience, humility, and kindness." He will not reprove everything pertaining to the heretic, but will be fair and tactful enough

that whatever of doctrine or life he finds in the heretic to be good and blameless, not only will he not censure it, but will approve and praise.⁹¹

Musculus did not favor the tactics of the book burners because there is much good contained in heretical books. Such books should be preserved and read by discerning men even if they are not suitable for general consumption.⁹² He personally practiced the above prescription with good results, particularly in dealing with Anabaptists.⁹³ Bucer also favored preaching, argumentation, compromise, and gradual reclamation in dealing with these separatists.⁹⁴

The means which Musculus permitted and recommended to the Church and minister for recovering the heretic were peaceable and spiritual enough, but the force of the civil arm played an important part in his scheme for the overthrow of heresy as has been shown in the discussion of the magistrate. Force may be used by the ruler as a last resort when the heretic will not be restrained by advice and when the efforts of conscientious ministers have failed.⁹⁵ The ruler, however, must make sure that his punishments are administered in such a way that men who are able to amend and be

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 283 A.

⁹⁰ *Loci*, p. 607 A.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 608 A-B.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 614 A-615 B.

⁹³ Musculus gives an account of his success with several Anabaptist prisoners in Augsburg; letter to A. Blaurer, Febr. 27, 1554; Schiesz, vol. 3, p. 241; and *Calvini Opera*, vol. 15, letter No. 1916.

⁹⁴ *Ells*, pp. 150-151, 238-239.

⁹⁵ *Loci*, p. 611 A; *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 373 B.

saved begin to aid the Church which formerly they injured.⁹⁶ His methods must be adapted to particular cases. Some should be forced to give a public recantation of errors; others should be given a secret friendly welcome into the Church. With some, force avails nothing since they can not be compelled to renounce their heresy by any type of death, while others will not yield unless they are handled severely.⁹⁷ The ruler will also be swayed by counsels of expediency, pulling up the "tares" only when they are very few and can be removed without injury to the righteous.⁹⁸ Of course, he will not permit heretics to teach their doctrines, organize churches, or ordain bishops and other ministers. He will deprive some of them of honors, from others he will take the rights of citizenship; some he will banish and others he will fine. He will imprison the seducers and deceivers until they recover and repent, thus preventing set heretics from contaminating others.⁹⁹ This, again, refers to Musculus' experience with the imprisoned Augsburg Anabaptists. He approved of the imprisonment of the most incorrigible cases so that they could not mislead others with their teaching. Such confinement also made them available to the offices of the Christian minister who could woo them by the Christian spirit of kindness and patience, his only permitted means. It is possible that Musculus' contacts with the prisoners would not have been so successful if the men had realized that he was not altogether averse to their imprisonment.

Musculus conceded to the magistrate great latitude in the punishment and compulsion of heretics, but he repeatedly said that this persecution should not go to the lengths of cruelty and bloodshed, for cruel measures are unbecoming to the Christian ruler.

In the first place, it is proper for a Christian magistrate that he abstain from savagery and cruelty. Without any dissimulation at all, I confess myself to be among those who are greatly displeased that where errors should be slain, men are slain instead.¹⁰⁰

One distinguishing mark between Christian and heretical magistrates is the moderation or cruelty with which religious dissenters are punished.¹⁰¹ Again, savage means of persecution of even the most detestable heretics are not becoming to wise men

⁹⁶ *Loci*, p. 612 A.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 611 B, 614 A.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 612 B.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 611 B-612 A.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 611 B. "Cogantur haeretici ad bonum . . . sed citra saevitiam & crudelitatem." *Ibid.*, p. 612 A. Christianus magistratus animadvertit quidem in haeticos, verum sic moderate, et sint qui respiscere possint." *Ibid.*, p. 611 B.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

who know with what labor truth is found, and with what difficulty errors are avoided, and with what sighs and groans it comes to pass that God can be known to any extent at all.¹⁰²

This was a rational consideration which tended toward tolerance in Musculus as it did in Castellio.¹⁰³ Cruel measures, too, are contrary to the admonition of the apostle, since they remove opportunity for learning the truth and evading the snares of the devil.¹⁰⁴ Just as Sarah was satisfied with the ejection of Hagar and Ishmael and did not say to Abraham, "Punish! Kill! Burn!" so the true Church of Christ does not seek vengeance upon her unspiritual sons but is content with their ejection.¹⁰⁵ Bucer likewise opposed cruel punishments for heretics and suggested that it would be well to put them on prison farms instead.¹⁰⁶ In general, Bucer's policy for dealing with them "sounded terribly fierce", but was really mild in practice.¹⁰⁷

It remains to notice Musculus' attitude toward two other religious groups. His rigid separatism from all Roman Catholic fellowship has been noted. He was just as rigorous in holding aloof from the Jews and Mohammedans. This separation, however, did not carry over into the common contacts of life or physical proximity.¹⁰⁸ The Christian who lives among the Jews, Turks, and heathen should follow the example of the early Christians by having nothing to do with "their darkness, that is, that very kingdom of Satan," but he may make careful use of those things "which are human and do not pertain to either Christ or Satan."¹⁰⁹ Musculus could not pray with any of these groups because there was no common ground of faith, religion, or worship.¹¹⁰ Such are the unbelievers with whom Christians are not to be unequally yoked together, according to Paul's exhortation; the apostle did not mean the wicked member in the Church, as the Anabaptists mistakenly believe.¹¹¹ Musculus regretted that there were people so worldly

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Bainton, "Sebastian Castellio," p. 195.

¹⁰⁴ Letter to A. Blaurer, Febr. 27, 1554; Schiesz, vol. 3, p. 239.

¹⁰⁵ *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 1, p. 161 B.

¹⁰⁶ *Ells*, p. 363.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁰⁸ *Ad Rom.*, p. 225 A.

¹⁰⁹ *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 375 A. The injunction to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, Eph. 5:11, does not preclude personal contacts and society. *Ad Gal. & Ephes.*, pt. 2, p. 135 A. See also *Ad Cor.*, pp. 403 B, 405 B.

¹¹⁰ *Loci*, p. 562 A; *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 348 A-B.

¹¹¹ The apostle in II Cor. 6:14, "Infideles vocat non eos simpliciter, qui fidem in corde non habent, . . . sed eos, qui ex professo a Christiana fide sunt, adeoque & a Christo & ecclesia Christi alieni, quales sunt hodie Turci & Iudaei." *Ad Cor.*, p. 403 B.

that they could contract marriage and other intimate alliances with those of different religions, even with Turks and Jews.¹¹²

Although Musculus favored the above strict separation in religious matters, he advocated a certain measure of toleration for the Jews. He favored necessary magisterial compulsion of lapsed Christians, but he did not think force should be used with those who had been reared in another religion. Foreigners residing in a city should live in accordance with the local laws and customs, but they should neither be compelled to imitate the Christian religion nor be admitted to participation in its mysteries.¹¹³ Musculus denounced the compulsory baptism of Jews.¹¹⁴ Perhaps it was in large part due to his strong objection to the practice of usury¹¹⁵ that he said Jews should not be forbidden all other forms of work and thus be driven to its practice for a livelihood.¹¹⁶ This attitude contrasts favorably with that of Bucer who was strikingly intolerant of Jews.¹¹⁷ Bucer did not favor their compulsory baptism, but he held that they should be compelled to attend Christian preaching, that their own services should be prohibited,¹¹⁸ and that they must be strictly subordinated to Christians.¹¹⁹ Luther's final bitterness against the Jews and his mediaeval attitude of persecution of them are well known.¹²⁰

Aside from the times when Musculus spoke of the Jews and Turks together as at fault and to be avoided in religious matters by Christians, he made but few direct references to the latter. In those cases, however, there seems to have been a tendency toward lessening rancor. In 1546 he expressed the hope that the plans of the pope in Germany would miscarry and that the blood of Christians would not be mutually shed but be preserved for use against the "grausamenn Türcken".¹²¹ In his commentary on the Psalms, published in 1550 but compiled over a period of many years, Musculus looked upon the Turks as an instrument of God's wrath and

¹¹² *In Ev. Ioannis*, p. 93 A.

¹¹³ *Loci*, p. 77 A.

¹¹⁴ *In Matthaeum*, p. 231 B.

¹¹⁵ See *De Vsura*, printed as an appendix to his *In Psalterium*, ed. 1563, pp. 1183-1191.

¹¹⁶ *Loci*, p. 626 A.

¹¹⁷ Eells, pp. 240-241.

¹¹⁸ Paulus, pp. 153-154.

¹¹⁹ Eells, p. 241.

¹²⁰ Völker, pp. 100-101; Faulkner, "Luther and Toleration," p. 152; Allen, p. 87; Paulus, p. 10; Bainton, "Development and Consistency of Luther's Attitude," p. 121.

¹²¹ *Neue Zeytung*, p. C. iii. a.

their congregations as meetings of "impious Mohammedanism".¹²² But in 1550 he received word of the spread of the Reformation in Hungary against the opposition of the Roman Church. He lamented the fact that Christians were trying their religious differences before Turkish judges who then had to decide which party was in the right,¹²³ but he could not avoid a high appreciation of the tolerance of the Turkish magistrates who not only did not force Christians to adopt Mohammedanism, but approved of Christians living in accordance with the Bible, a book which the Turks also recognized as having been given by God.¹²⁴

The thought of Musculus outlined in this chapter shows both intolerant and tolerant tendencies. He was intolerant of the irregular expressions of reformed religion, considering them all to be heretical in varying degrees of culpability. As heresies and heretics they were subject to his proposed methods of reclamation and correction, whether gently by the pastor and Church, or forcibly by the magistrate. The intolerance evident in this attitude was modified by the strict limitations placed upon the aims and severity of the magisterial means of compulsion. The roots of this intolerance run back to his theory of the rights of the State in religious affairs and the authority of the Bible interpreted closely along his own lines.

Musculus was tolerant in his attitude toward the various branches of recognized Protestantism, due to his view of the spiritual nature of true unity and his fairly broad concept of what might be included among the adiaphora. In his constant striving for peace among the Protestant sects he manifested a gentle, peace loving spirit. His repeated stress upon the value of patience and tact in winning the heretic worked for practical tolerance in many cases for any who heeded his admonitions. He was, moreover, on the side of tolerance with regard to those reared in non-Christian religions.

¹²² *In Psalterium*, p. 542 D. This statement is part of his comment upon Psalm 74 and was written in Augsburg before 1548. "Nam in illa [Augsburg] sunt nata, quae inde ab initio Psalterij, ad Psalmum usque centesimumquartum, per gratiam Domini lucubrauimus." *Ibid.*, Dedication, p. 1.

¹²³ *Vom Uffgang*, p. B. iii. b.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. C. i. a.

CONCLUSION

Musculus' attitude toward religious tolerance was not consistent but was filled with conflicting tendencies which promoted both tolerant and intolerant expressions. Some contradicting elements stand out prominently.

There was a certain intolerance due to the emphasis he placed upon God's honor and complete sovereignty. This divine grandeur, in contrast with man's low estate, made certain sins blasphemous and so heinous as to call for the sinner's death. It also justified the compulsion of the merely disobedient. On the other hand, Musculus had great faith in God as a Being of love and gentleness, possessing patience with and forgiveness for human error.

Another stress in Musculus' thought was the doctrine of magisterial control of religious affairs and compulsion of the unrighteous contrasted with a high estimate of the value of love, gentleness, and patience which were the only means permitted to the minister and Christian individual for winning the erring. He restricted the severity of the magisterial punishments, however, and gave the individual certain rights of withstanding unjustified civil demands.

Musculus' acceptance of and loyalty to a virtually unified Bible, with all that meant by way of rules, precedents, and legalistic interpretation, worked for intolerance. But this, in turn, was counteracted by his demand for experiential religion and the following of Christ as the believer's example of the spirit of love. Expediency was also a consideration in enforcing biblical rules and precedents, especially in administering ecclesiastical discipline.

In Musculus was also found the age-old dualism of the visible and invisible churches. He laid emphasis upon the reality and importance of the external Church which possessed property, needed exemplary ministers, demanded doctrinal correctness, and called for protection against allegedly heretical rivals. This worked for intolerance, but was counterbalanced by the emphasis he laid upon the invisible, spiritual Church. Under the influence of this concept, he recognized other Christian groups as members of the true Church in spite of certain differences of interpretation, ceremonies, and organization. By distinguishing between evil members within the Church and heretics without, he could tolerate one group and punish the other.

The struggle for mastery between the limited vision of the dogmatist and ecclesiastic and the spiritual concepts of the religious idealist and lover of men called for harmonization. Musculus attempted this more or less consciously by making certain discriminations. He contrasted the sovereign honor of God with His patient love. He distinguished sharply between the functions of the magistrate and the minister. He demanded adherence to biblical precepts, but at the same time pointed out the virtues of spiritual freedom. He emphasized now the visible, now the invisible Church. He differentiated between the righteousness demanded of ministers and that due from ordinary church members. He demanded gentleness toward members within the Church but sternness toward the heretic without. At times he appears to have distinguished between the treatment of groups and individuals.

The gentler spiritual ideals were strong in Musculus and they combined with his love of Christ and man to prevent his practice from becoming harsh. However, these were not able to attain a dominance which approximated genuine religious tolerance.

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